

BOOK REVIEWS

JOHN KALOGEROU, Contemporary Roman Catholic Opinion on the Orthodox Church. (Athens: Astir Press) Greek title: ΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΛΗΨΕΙΣ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΩΝ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΩΝ.

Dr. Kalogerou, professor of Church Doctrine at the University of Salonica, presents Orthodox-Roman Catholic relationships under a new light, the "Roman light", as he calls it. As up to now, relationships between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches were presented either from the Orthodox view-point, such presentations being appreciably tinted with an apologetic color, or from the Roman Catholic view-point, which has always been advanced with strong argumentation on the ground of the supposed infallibility of the bishop of Rome.

Dr. Kalogerou uses a different technique in dealing with his subject: he presents the Orthodox Church as seen by certain Roman Catholic theologians, and he is inclined to believe that the way those theologians view the Orthodox Church can be rightly called the "Roman light" under which Orthodoxy is seen by the Roman Church. The author's thesis, however, is not advanced without misgivings. Dr. Kalogerou admits that, "the Roman Catholic theological thought is enslaved in principle to the higher Church policy of the Roman Church" (p. 23), and, consequently, unofficial pronouncements on the Orthodox Church can have no import upon the existing relationships between the two Churches. He proceeds, however, to show, or at least to indicate, that certain well-pronounced trends in Roman Catholic theology show beyond doubt that though the official attitude of the Roman Church toward the Orthodox remains as rigid and unreconcilable as ever, yet there are unmistakable currents of thought within the Roman Church which are approximating, though very slowly and quietly, those of her sister Church of the East.

Dr. Kalogerou appears at aiming to advance the thesis, that certain Roman Catholic theological circles have undertaken the task of re-appreciating the view-point and values of the Eastern doctrine and tradition, and by so doing tending to stress points of common beliefs and practices between the two Churches; this may impel, he believes, theologians on both sides to reconsider their evaluation of each other's view-points in regard to the problem of reunion. Dr. Kalogerou's thesis concerning the Orthodox side resolves into a necessity on the part of Orthodox theologians to study these new developments within the Roman Church, however unofficial they may be, as they may prove a workable basis for discussion on reunion.

Time only will show whether the author's thesis is grounded on some real situation existing within the Roman Church, or the "Roman light" is just the work of certain scholars who have felt free to evade the boundaries of official prescriptions on the question regarding the two Churches. On the Orthodox side, however, Dr. Kalogerou's belief that theologians of the Eastern camp ought to examine carefully any "light" that may come from the West is, we believe, well-grounded, for, it is their obligation, moreover, to keep alive the spirit of Ecumenicity and reunion that has never forsaken the Orthodox Church since the time of the Schism.

The author begins to advance his thesis by citing (pp. 9-22) the most

important Papal Encyclicals of recent times dealing with the relations between the two Churches and by showing the attitude of the see of Rome towards Orthodoxy. All of these Encyclicals appear to be impregnated with the well-known demand of the Roman Church by which the Orthodox Church ought to return to the *μὲνδρα* of the Roman Catholic Church. The author deems the following Encyclicals to represent better the official attitude of the Roman Church towards the Eastern Orthodox: the *Litterae ad Orientalis*, by Pius IX in the year 1848; the *Praeclara gratulationis*, of Pope Leo XIII in the year 1894; the *Nortalium animos*, of Pope Pius XI.

The second part of Dr. Kalogerou's book is devoted to the opinions of Roman Catholic theologians regarding the dogmatics, ritual and tradition of the Orthodox Church. He believes that there are three movements in all within the Roman Church interested in various aspects of the Orthodox Church. The first stresses more the liturgical aspect of the Orthodox Church and examines its implications upon the Schism; this movement has been mainly associated with the names of bishop Jeremias Bonomelli and Prince Max of Saxony. It aims at presenting in calm surroundings the liturgical treasure of the Orthodox Church. Prince Max believed that the Kingdom of God is not found only in the fulfillment of the spirit and letter of the Roman Canon Law; the Eastern liturgy, he believes, presents the very teachings and traditions of early Christianity, and comes to us as a blessings from "those of old."

The second movement is connected, according to Dr. Kalogerou, with the tendency of certain Roman theologians to study and reappraise the Eastern Church life, worship and theology, from the time of the Greek Fathers through the mystical theology of the Byzantines. Both F. Muckerman and G. Wunderle have been connected with this second movement, the latter of whom "reasserts the purity and genuineness of the Orthodox Christian form . . . conceives successfully the ultimate metaphysical essence of the sacramental reality of the Eastern Church, and succeeds in going deep into the unique redemptory character of Orthodox Christianity" (pp. 55). Wunderle appears also to concur with the opinion by which Christianity was developed in the East in its real form and essence while in the West it was allowed to develop under certain "oughts" prescribed by the Church. He believes that in dealing with the sacraments, one ought to stress the Eastern conception of the "sanctifying and deifying Grace" as well, instead of stressing only the sustaining Grace.

The third movement, developed around the new "idea of the Church" as introduced into the Western Church by the teachings of the theology of "*Corpus Christi mysticum*", appears to have been appreciably influenced by Eastern Orthodox conceptions regarding the Church as communion of love among the faithful supernaturally bound together (by the mystical Body of Christ) into an organically unified life, the head of which is Christ only. (pp. 57-58).

Hopes and expectations issuing from the work of these three movements have been, however, held back recently by a stern reaction on the part of the official Roman Church and its stricter theologians. The Encyclical of Pope Pius XII in 1943, *Mystici corporis Christi*, and works like those of M. C. Coster and Tyciak come to remind us that no movement within the Roman Church can continue in a forgetful bliss of boundless thought and action if it seems to evade the circumference of higher Church policy.

The third part of the book of Dr. Kalogerou is devoted to the examination of Papal claims. Dr. Kalogerou appears to be in accord with many Roman Catholic theologians who believe that the difference between the two Churches lies in the Papal claims of primacy and infallibility, and that the "doctrine" of infallibility of the bishop of Rome has presented even Roman Catholic theology with a problem, since, in the opinion of Catholic

theologians cited, the Pope's claims to infallibility are in opposition to the universal tradition of the Christian Church. The author believes, however, that the "doctrine" of infallibility must be examined by Orthodox theologians not only on the basis of its theological implications but on the ground, as well, of its creation as a defense mechanism meant to safeguard the political and social structure of the Roman Church during its period of development and consolidation. Dr. Kalogerou advises Orthodox theologians to do everything possible to help the Roman Church reappraise its pronouncements concerning Papal infallibility, and he believes that such claims cannot possibly remain an integral part of the Roman Catholic conception of the Church of Christ.

Dr. Kalogerou's approach to the subject is new and undoubtedly attractive. There are some points, of course, at which one may feel at complete disagreement with the author. We question, for example, his suggestion that the Orthodox Church show sufferance of Papal claims until the Catholic Church itself finally clarifies the disputed points not through official encyclicals but through sound theological positions. Sufferance of Papal claims for the sake of finalizing other points of dispute appears to be a dangerous suggestion as constituting a precedent being utterly unwarranted by Orthodox doctrine, practice and tradition. Dr. Kalogerou has, otherwise, ably presented a subject of vital importance to the Church under a light which, whether it is "Roman light" or not, has amply illuminated some dark angles of a many-sided question.

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MAN – THE IMAGE OF GOD

According to the Greek Fathers

KAT EIKONA KAI KAΘ OMOIΩΣIN

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In view of the devastating results of the last two World Wars and the continuing contest between East and West for atomic power, which with its tremendous resources for destruction threatens man's security and even existence, there are many thoughtful people who are asking the all important question: Is self-destruction to be man's final achievement?

Because of the confusion and anxiety of modern life, man turns to himself, realizing that within him he holds the power of creativity, and, moreover, the freedom to choose the destruction of himself and that of the living world about him. Fortunately, man is beginning to study himself once again, his inner life and deeper aspirations and to seriously ask the questions that have always puzzled him—Where did I come from, why am I here and whither shall I go?

Within the past half century many new sciences, such as Anthropology, Biology, Psychology and Sociology, have systematically undertaken the study of man and have arrived at diverse conclusions in the attempt to solve what has been called the riddle of the universe, i.e. man.

For example, the most prevalent view held today by anthropologists is that man is a product of the evolutionary process and, as such, being an animal struggling upward, cannot be rightfully called a spiritual entity. The mythical Sphynx symbolizes this idea by representing a human face arising out of the form of an animal.¹ Although there is some truth in this view—for

1. H. Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, trans. William Urwick (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895), p. 136.

it is obvious that man has much in common with the animal world—yet Anthropology is unable to defend man's superiority on the basis of biological fact alone.² The reason for this is that biologically, man does not differ from animals. What makes him different and superior to the rest of the living creatures is his spirit, and about this Anthropology and Biology have nothing to say. It is interesting to note that there are scientists who are of the opinion that man, contrary to expectation, is not progressing, but rather regressing. The basis for this position is the observation that man under the influence of civilization and culture is experiencing a weakening of his organs and instincts.³

Psychology, also under the influence of naturalistic ideas, treats man as a living organism without a soul, a creature, that is, without any particular mental and spiritual faculty, yet able somehow to lead a life of conscious and unconscious interactions with its environment. Psychology has much to say about the mental life of the individual and many new fields have been created to investigate the disorganization of the personality and the methods of treating mental diseases; yet psychologists and psychiatrists are unable to say much about what man really is.⁴ One thing, however, seems to be clear. Man is no longer considered by psychologists to be a healthy creature, as he had been considered by Psychology in the past. To the contrary, he is now looked upon as a sick creature.

Although man is indebted to modern scientific views for a deeper understanding of his physical organism, he must feel that they are inadequate in providing solutions to his problem. Of course, it would be irrational for him not to accept the scientific conclusions about the nature of man—for example, that he is a member of the animal kingdom, that he has undergone certain stages of development, that he is a product of society,⁵ that he is a being suffering from the conflicts between his conscious and unconscious selves, etc. But, man feels himself to be not only this but something more than that which science has established. Man cannot be satisfied with scientific fact alone, for Science depicts man as a being lacking that dignity of which he is aware and has been made aware by virtue of his creation, i.e. his capacity for reason and self-education, his power to make choices of good and evil and of moral development, his desire for fellowship and love, his ability to create civilizations and

2. M. Scheler, *Die Stellung den Menschen im Kosmos*, cited by N. Berdyaev *The Destiny of Man*, trans. from Russian, Natalie Duddington (3rd ed., London: Geoffrey Bles, 1948), p. 48.

3. N. Berdyaev, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

4. See David E. Roberts, *Psychotherapy and a Christian View of Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), p. 153.

5. See Gillin and Gillin, *Cultural Anthropology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948), chap. XXVI, for a discussion of the theories of socialization.

cultures and, lastly, his ability to transcend his physical state in search of spiritual communion with the Eternal, — all of which attest to the fact that he enjoys a superior and ruling position in the universe over the animal world. In spite of all naturalistic attempts to equate man and animal, the view that man is something more than animal is as strong as ever and has not yet been validly refuted.

As a result of the inadequacy of scientific knowledge to answer the problem of man's true nature, many people are anxiously turning towards Christianity for solutions. Pious Christians, learned and unlearned alike, have found insights within the Christian Faith relating to the nature of man about which they are convinced that they are not only psychologically sound but also empirically valid presuppositions for an intelligent approach to the problems that beset modern man.⁶

This paper purports to show the contribution that Church Fathers, from Irenaeus to St. John of Damascus, have made toward the development of the Christian doctrine of man. Since Orthodox Theology is believed to be an exposition and development of the Theology of the Early Church, what the Church Fathers have said about the nature of man is of no small importance to an Orthodox Christian today.

The Christian doctrine of man has been traditionally based on the interpretation of the expression «κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν»,⁷ wherein God is said to have created man in His image and according to His likeness. The exact meaning of this phrase has always challenged the minds of the ablest Christian thinkers since the second century. That there are many difficulties encountered in the attempt to understand the deeper meaning of this phrase has been well expressed by St. Gregory of Nyssa.⁸ However, whatever has been said by way of interpreting this expression is only an attempt to express the basic Christian con-

6. For example, Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941) preface, p. VII: "There are resources in the Christian Faith for an understanding of human nature which have been lost to modern culture."

7. The Hebrew - Betsalmenu, Kidmuthenu; The Latin - Imago et Similitudo; the English - Image and Likeness. I have used the Septuagint Version because this form has contributed more to the development of the idea in Orthodox Theology.

8. St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 44, 1328A: «Ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ὥς ἐμοὶ γε δοκεῖ, ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευὴ φοβερά τις καὶ δυσερμήνευτος, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρυφα ἐν αὐτῇ μυστήρια Θεοῦ ἐξακονίζουσα.»

Ibid., 44, 1340B: «Ἐὰν φιλοσοφεῖν περὶ τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν βούλει, οὕτω φιλοσόφησον, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐκτός· ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐντός σου τὸν κρυπτόν Θεόν γνώρισον.»

viction that man is essentially a spiritual being and that his true nature can be understood only in a theological context.⁹

Christian expositors have always interpreted the expression in the light of the New Testament, which teaches that our Lord Jesus Christ is the Image of the invisible God and that the Image in man can be determined only in relation to Him.¹⁰ Of course, Old Testament scholars seem to agree that the expression describes man as he is and that it does not refer to any form of human existence prior to the Fall. Nevertheless, this view is not in opposition to the Orthodox teaching that the whole man even in his fallen state is still the image of God, albeit, this Image has been defaced but not completely obliterated on account of sin.¹¹

It was Irenaeus who first tried to define in a systematic way the expression, teaching that the Image of God refers to man's rational and free being. Since his time, other Christian writers have depended on this view and have added other elements to the image, such as immortality, dominance over animals, creativity, holiness, love, etc.

To Irenaeus Christian writers have also been indebted for the distinction between the two words *image* and *likeness*, although in the Masoretic text the expression seems to be only an example of Hebrew parallelism.¹² This cleavage in the meaning of the expression has influenced the thought of many Christian Fathers and has served the purpose of expressing the basic

9. St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 30, 17C: «... τόν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον, τόν καί κυριώτερον καί ἀληθέστερον. Ἐγὼ γάρ κατὰ τόν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον· τὰ ἔξω οὐκ ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ ἐμά· ἐγὼ δέ τὸ λογικόν τῆς ψυχῆς. Τό οὖν σῶμα ἐμά· τό οὖν σῶμα, ὄργανον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ψυχῆς ὄργανον· ἀνθρώπος δέ κυρίως, τό κατ' αὐτήν τήν ψυχήν.»

St. Gregory of Nyssa, *op. cit.*, 44, 264B: «Ἐγὼ γάρ κατὰ τόν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον . . . οὐ γάρ ἡ χεὶρ ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ τὸ λογικόν τῆς ψυχῆς. Ἡ δέ χεὶρ μέρος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Ὡστε τό μὲν σῶμα, ὄργανον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ψυχῆς ὄργανον, ἀνθρώπος δέ κυρίως κατ' αὐτήν τήν ψυχήν.»

10. Col: 1, 15; Ph: 2, 6; Ro: 8, 29. Irenaeus, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 7, 1167C: «Ἐν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις ἐλέγετο μὲν κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γεγονέναι τόν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ ἐδείκνυτο δέ. Ἔτι γάρ ἀόρατος ἦν ὁ Λόγος, οὐ κατ' εἰκόνα ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεγόνει. Διὰ τοῦτο δὴ καί τήν ὁμοίωσιν ῥαδίως ἀπέβαλεν. Ὅποτε δέ σὰρξ ἐγένετο ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὰ ἀμφοτέρω ἐπεκύρωσε· καί γάρ (καί) τήν εἰκόνα ἔδειξεν ἀληθῶς, αὐτός τοῦτο γινόμενος, ὅπερ ἦν ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτοῦ· καί τήν ὁμοίωσιν δευαίως κατέστησε, συνεξομοιώσας τόν ἄνθρωπον τῷ ἀοράτῳ Πατρί.»

Origen, Migne, P. G. 14, 53C: «Ὅμοίως δέ καί Χριστός ἀρχὴ τῶν κατ' εἰκόνα γενομένων Θεοῦ. Εἰ γάρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι κατ' εἰκόνα, ἡ εἰκὼν δέ κατὰ τόν Πατέρα, τό μὲν καθό τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ Πατήρ ἀρχή· τό δέ καθό τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ Χριστός, γενομένων κατὰ τό οὐ ἔστιν εἰκὼν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τήν εἰκόνα.»

St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 29, 724: «Εἰκὼν μὲν Θεοῦ Χριστός, ὅς ἐστι, φησὶ, εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου.»

11. See Frank Gavin, *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought* (London: S.P.C.K., 1936), p. 167 for reference to Androutsos, Dyovouniotes and Mesoloras.

12. Panayotis Bratsiotis, "Genesis 1, 26 in Orthodox Theology", *Orthodoxia*, (Vol. XXVII, Issue No. 4, 1952).

Orthodox teaching that man was not initially created perfect but was endowed with all those gifts that were necessary for communion with his Creator and for the attainment of the end for which he was created.¹³ On this point, Orthodoxy has always taught that only with the proper use of these natural gifts, in cooperation with Divine Grace, would man grow in spirit and become like unto God.¹⁴

It is interesting to note that although Irenaeus believed that the Image consists of man's endowment of reason and freedom, and although he taught that Adam enjoyed a certain degree of blessedness in his primitive state, he did not attribute to him any degree of perfection, as did Augustine and, later, Catholic Theology. According to Irenaeus, man was created as a child, νήπιον, which from the state of innocence was destined, and endowed with the powers, to grow to maturity.¹⁵ This view underlies Orthodox thought on the Primitive State. It is characteristic of Orthodox Theology that it has said very little about the State of man prior to the Fall, taking the example of the Church Fathers. St. John of Damascus, for example, the greatest Dogmatician of the Orthodox Church, in his celebrated work «Ἐκδοσις Ἀκριβὴς τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Πίστεως» does not have a special chapter

13. St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 30, 29C: «Τό μὲν κατ' εἰκόνα φύσει δέδοται ἡμῖν, καὶ ἀμετάβλητον ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος συμπάρεστι· τὸ δὲ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, ἐκ προαιρέσεως, καὶ οὐκ ὁθεν κατορθοῦμεν ὕστερον.»

St. Basil Migne, P. G. 30, 32C: «Ἔστιν οὖν δυνάμει μὲν πρὸ ἐν ἑμοί λογικόν καὶ νοερόν, ὃ δὴ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα πεποιησθαι με δεικνυσιν· ἐνεργείᾳ δέ, τὸ καὶ ἀντιποιηθῆναι τῆς ἀρετῆς, καὶ πράξει κατορθῶσαι τὸ καλόν, καὶ οὕτως ἐλθεῖν διὰ τῆς ἀρίστης πολιτείας εἰς τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ.»

St. Basil, Migne P. G. 30, 32C: «Ὡστε τὸ μὲν κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ, ἀρχὴ ἐστὶ καὶ ρίζα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἦν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ κτίζεσθαι συγκαταβεβλημένην τῇ φύσει μου ἔσχηκα· τὸ δὲ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ, ἔσχατον ἐκ τῶν ἔργων μου, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ καλὰ πόνων, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ὅλην ζωὴν ἐνάρετον διαγωγῆς, περιγίνεται μοι.»

St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, P. G. 44, 273A: «Τό μὲν, τῇ κτίσει ἔχομεν τὸ δέ, ἐκ προαιρέσεως κατορθοῦμεν. Ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κατασκευῇ συνυπάρχει ἡμῖν τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα γεγενῆσθαι Θεοῦ· ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἡμῖν κατορθοῦται τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν εἶναι Θεοῦ.»

Cyril of Jerusalem, Migne, P. G. 33, 836B: «Καὶ τὸ μὲν κατ' εἰκόνα, ἔλαβε· τὸ δὲ καθ' ὁμοιότητα, διὰ τὴν παρακοήν ἡμαῦρωσε.»

14. St. John Chrysostom, Migne, P. G. 54, 593: «Ὁ δὲ Θεός οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ' εὐθέως γενόμενον αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην ἤγαγε, δεικνύς ὅτι οὐ κατορθωμάτων ἐστὶν ἀμοιβὴ τὸ γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ θεία χάρις, καὶ οὐκ ὀφειλή.»

St. John of Damascus, Migne, P. G. 94, 924A: «. . . ἥτοι ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα μένειν, καὶ προκόπτειν ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ, τῇ θείᾳ συνεργοῦμενον χάριτι ὡσαύτως καὶ τρέφεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ. . .»

Ibid., 94, 972A: «Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ, ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐδόθη ἐν τῇ φύσει, καὶ αὐτός ἐστι παντός ἀγαθοῦ αἰτία, καὶ ἐκτός τῆς αὐτοῦ συνεργίας καὶ βοηθείας, ἀδύνατον ἀγαθὸν θελῆσαι ἢ πράξει ἡμᾶς.»

15. Irenaeus, Migne, P. G. 7, 1105A, C: «. . . οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεός αὐτὸς μὲν οἷός τε ἦν παρασχεῖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ τέλειον, ὃ δὲ ἀνθρώπος ἀδύνατος λαβεῖν αὐτό· νήπιος γὰρ ἦν.»

Ibid., 7, 1107A: «. . . οὕτω καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ μὲν Θεός δυνατός ἦν διδόναι τὸ τέλειον τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἄρτι γεγονώς, ἀδύνατος ἦν λαβεῖν αὐτό, ἢ λαβὼν χωρῆσαι, ἢ καὶ χωρήσας κατασχεῖν. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συνενηπίασεν Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, τέλειος ὢν, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὐ δι' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νήπιον οὕτω χωρούμενος, ὡς ἀνθρώπος αὐτόν χωρεῖν ἡδύνατο. . .»

on the Fall.¹⁶ His description of the Primitive State¹⁷ is not intended to convey the meaning that man was created perfect, for, as the great Doctor elsewhere writes, man had to develop his faculties and to grow in spirit with the aid of Divine Grace. The purpose of such exaggerated, descriptive language is to point out by contrast the degree to which man has been degraded from his original state of purity and harmony with God as a result of sin.

In the writings of the Church Fathers the image has been traditionally referred to as man's rational faculties.¹⁸ This idea, it is true, is similar to the Platonic and Aristotelian conception of man as λογικὸν ζῶον (animal rationale). But the Church Fathers have emphasized reason because they have believed that by proper use of reason man is able to learn of his Creator and to enjoy communion with him; i.e. they have taken the position that knowledge is necessary if man is to reach any degree of similarity to God.¹⁹ It is not true that the Fathers equate entirely the Image with the reason of the fallen man. In their interpretation of the expression "In His Image" they are referring primarily to man's rational being prior to the Fall. Their familiarity with the biblical view of sin and its effects upon human nature does not permit them to lose sight of the fact that human reason, as a result of sin, has been weakened and is unable to lead man to God unaided by Divine Grace. However, that the Fathers speak so much about the Image as the rational nature of man and do not emphatically differentiate between reason of the Primitive State and that found in natural man is in harmony with the position of Orthodox Theology which accepts man (including i.e.

16. Adolph Harnack, *History of Dogma*, trans. Neil Buchanan (3rd ed., Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1903) Vol. III, p. 285, n. 1.

17. St. John of Damascus, Migne, P. G. 94, 921A: «Ἐποίησεν οὖν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἁγίον, εὐθὺς, ἐνάρετον, ἄλκιον, ἀμέριμον, πάσῃ ἀρετῇ κατηγγλαίμενον, πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς καμῶντα, ὅλον τινα κόσμον δευτερον . . .»

18. Clement of Alexandria, Migne, P. G. 9, 140A: «Εἰκὼν μὲν γὰρ Θεοῦ λόγος Θεῖος καὶ βασιλικός, ἄνθρωπος ἀπαθής· εἰκὼν δ' εἰκόνος ἀνθρώπου νοῦς.»

Origen, Migne, P. G. 14, 153B: «Ὅταν σχέσιν ἔχει ὁ ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἀνθρώπῳ λόγος πρὸς τὸν Λόγον Θεόν, τοιαύτη εἶναι καὶ ἡ κατ' εἰκόνα σχέσις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.»

Athanasius, Migne, P. G. 25, 101B: «. . . οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ὥσπερ πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἄλογα ζῶα, ἔκτισε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς, μεταδούς αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου Λόγου δυνάμεως, ἵνα ὥσπερ σιας τινας ἔχοντες τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ γενόμενοι λογικοί, διαμένειν ἐν μακαριότητι δυνηθῶσι, ζῶντες τὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ ὄντως τῶν ἁγίων ἐν παραδείσῳ βίον.»

St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 32, 864C: «Ὅτι καλὸν μὲν ὁ νοῦς· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἔχομεν τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ πῖσαντος.»

St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, P. G. 44, 273B: «Κατ' εἰκόνα γὰρ ἔχω τὸ λογικὸς εἶναι, κατ' ὁμοίωσιν δὲ γίνομαι ἐν τῷ Χριστιανὸς γενέσθαι.»

St. John Chrysostom, Migne, P. G. 56, 443C: «Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰκὼν Θεοῦ ὁ νοῦς· Ἐννοεῖ ὁ νοῦς, καὶ εὐθέως κτίζει παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἀγοράς, ἀναξωγραφεῖ, ὄχλον, δῆμον . . .»

Cyril of Alexandria, Migne P. G. 74, 276D: «Πεποιήται τοίνυν τοῦτ' ὁ λογικὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ζῶων, φημί δὴ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐξ ἀρχῆς, κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Κτίσαντος, κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς. . .»

19. St. Basil, Migne P. G. 32, 69: «Ὁμοίωσις δέ, οὐκ ἄνευ γνώσεως· ἡ δὲ γνώσις, οὐκ ἐκτὸς διδαγμάτων.»

his rational being) as the "Image of God", even in his fallen state.

By stressing the rational being of man,²⁰ the Fathers have tried to emphasize the human faculty that gives man superiority over other creatures. It would be hard to deny that the use of reason has made man the creator of civilization and culture, which the rest of the animal world lacks. Animals have learned to manipulate material things and may even undergo emotional experiences similar to those of human beings, but they have been unable to better themselves, to change even their methods of habitation. Furthermore, man alone of all creatures has the capacity for thinking, knows of the reality of moral values and enjoys the ideas of truth, beauty and righteousness that few would deny.

Together with the rational faculties of man, the Church Fathers admit free-will (αὐτεξούσιον) as essential to the character of the Image.²¹ This, of course, is due to the fact that freedom

20. Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, Vol. I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951) p. 259: "Man is the image of God in that in which he differs from all other creatures, namely, his rational structure."

21. Justin the Martyr, Migne, P. G. 6, 393B: «Οὐ γάρ ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅλον δένδρα καὶ τετράποδα, μηδὲν δυνάμεθα προαγρέσει πράττειν, ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.»

Theophilus of Antioch, Migne, P. G. 6, 1096A: «Ἐλευθέρων γάρ καὶ αὐτεξούσιον ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.»

St. Basil, Migne, 30, 32B: «Ἐχέτω ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κτίσει τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα· γενέσθω δέ καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν διὰ τῆς οἰκείας σπουδῆς· ἐπειδὴ τὴν δύναμιν τούτου ἔχει ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ φύσει λαβὼν.»

Cyril of Jerusalem, Migne, 33, 477: «Καὶ γίνωσκε, ὅτι ψυχὴ ἔχεις αὐτεξούσιον, ἔργον Θεοῦ κάλλιστον, κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ πεποιηκότος.»

Macarius of Egypt, Migne, 34, 592A: «Σὺ δέ διὰ τοῦτο εἰ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ὡσπερ ὁ Θεὸς αὐτεξούσιος ἐστι, καὶ ὁ θέλει ποιεῖ . . . οὕτως καὶ σὺ αὐτεξούσιος εἰ, καὶ ἐάν θέλῃς ἀπολέσθαι, τρεπτήης φύσεως εἰ.»

St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, 44, 184: «Ἐν δέ τῶν πάντων καὶ τὸ ἐλευθέρων ἀνάγκη εἶναι καὶ μὴ ὑπεξέυχθαι τινι φυσικῇ δυναστείᾳ· ἀλλ' αὐτεξούσιον πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην.»

St. John Chrysostom, Migne, P. G. 53, 158D: «Ἐπεὶ οὖν αὐτεξούσιον ἡμῶν τὴν φύσιν ἐργάσατο ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεός.»

Cyril of Alexandria, Migne, P. G. 74, 277D: «Ἐπειδὴ δέ ἀτοπροαίρετος ὢν, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἰδίων θελημάτων πεπιστευμένος ἦν (μοῖρα γάρ τῆς εἰκόνης καὶ αὐτῇ κατεξουσιάζει γάρ τῶν οἰκείων θελημάτων Θεός), ἐτρώτη καὶ πέπτωκε.»

St. John of Damascus, Migne, P. G. 94, 1037C: «Εἰ κατ' εἰκόνα τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ὑπερουσίον θεότητος ὁ ἄνθρωπος γεγένηται· αὐτεξούσιος δέ φύσει καὶ θελητικῇ ἢ θεία φύσις, ἄρα καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς αὐτῆς δικῶν, αὐτεξούσιος φύσει καὶ θελητικός. Τὸ γάρ αὐτεξούσιον, θέλησιν ὥρισαντο οἱ Πατέρες.»

is grounded in reason, for only rational beings have the power of a self-determining will and can rightly be considered free to make choices of good and evil.²² Again, according to Orthodox thought, free-will in natural man as well as in the Primitive State is not considered perfect. The power of freedom that was given to man by his Creator had to be developed through proper exercise and obedience to the will of God. That this power in man was not perfect is evidenced by the fact of sin.²³

Many Church Fathers relate the Image of God in man to man's primitive state of sinlessness and innocence, as well as capacity for moral perfection.²⁴ This capacity, too, was given to man potentially (*δυνάμει*) and it was required of him to develop from the stage of innocence and childhood to mature holiness, and to approximate the Holiness of God in accordance with the divine commandment: «Ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ Πατήρ ὑμῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς τέλειος ἐστίν» (Matt: 5,48). Even with this gift man was in need of the sustaining power of God's Grace in order to be able to achieve any degree of similarity to the Holiness of God.²⁵

22. St. John of Damascus, Migne, P. G. 94, 960D: «Τοῦ γάρ λογικοῦ τό μέν ἐστι θεωρητικόν, τό δέ πρακτικόν. Θεωρητικόν μὲν, τό κατανοοῦν ὡς ἔχει τὰ ὄντα· πρακτικόν δέ, τό βουλευτικόν, τό ὁρίζον τοῖς πρακτοῖς τόν ὀρθόν λόγον· καί καλοῦσι τό μέν θεωρητικόν, νοῦν, τό δέ πρακτικόν, λόγον· καί τό μέν θεωρητικόν, σοφίαν, τό δέ πρακτικόν φρόνησιν. Πᾶς οὖν ὁ βουλευόμενος, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρεσέως οὐσης τῶν πρακτέων, βουλευέται, ἵνα τό προκριθέν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἔλθῃ καί ἐλάμενος πράξῃ· εἰ δέ τοῦτο, ἐξ ἀνάγκης παρνούσεται τῷ λογικῷ τό αὐτεξούσιον· ἡ γάρ οὖν ἐστὶ λογικόν, ἡ λογικόν ὄν, κύριον ἐστὶ πράξεων καί αὐτεξούσιον. Ὅθεν καί τὰ ἄλογα οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐτεξούσια· ἄγονται γάρ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ἢ περ ἄγουσι· διό οὐδέ ἀντιλέγουσι τῇ φυσικῇ ὁρέξει, ἀλλ' ἅμα ὀρεχθῶσί τινος, ὀρμῶσι πρὸς τήν πράξιν. Ὁ δέ ἄνθρωπος, λογικός ὢν, ἄγει μᾶλλον τήν φύσιν ἢ περ ἄγεται· διό καί ὀρεγόμενος, εἴπερ ἐθέλοι, ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἀναχαιτίσαι τήν ὁρεξιν, ἢ ἀκολουθῆσαι αὐτῇ.»

23. Cf. Harold L. DeWolf, *A Theology of the Living Church* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1953) p. 204: "The innocence of infancy is not to be confused with the positive virtue of maturity, much less with the strong righteousness of God. That neither the first man nor any of us once possessed a perfect love of right and abhorrence of evil is proved by the fact of sin."

24. St. John of Damascus, Migne, P. G. 94, 924A: «Ἐποίησε δέ αὐτόν φύσει ἀναμάρτητον, καί θελήσει αὐτεξούσιον. Ἀναμάρτητον δέ φημι, οὐχ ὡς μὴ ἐπιδεχόμενον ἁμαρτίαν· μόνον γάρ τό Θεῖον ἁμαρτίας ἐστίν ἀνεπίδεκτον· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐν τῇ φύσει τό ἁμαρτάνειν ἔχοντα, ἐν τῇ προαιρέσει δέ μᾶλλον.»

25. *Ibid.*, 94, 924A: «. . . ἦτοι ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα μένειν, καί προκόπτειν ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ, τῇ θεῖα συνεργομένον χάριτι ὡσαύτως καί τρέπεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ, καί ἐν τῷ κακῷ γίνεσθαι, τοῦ Θεοῦ παραχωροῦντος διὰ τό αὐτεξούσιον. Οὐκ ἀρετὴ γάρ τό βίᾳ γινόμενον.»

Goodness in man²⁶ and the tendency within him toward spiritual growth and moral purification is from God and innate in man, according to the Fathers.²⁷ This inclination toward the καλόν is a qualification of man that truly establishes him over and above animal nature. It is, furthermore, a moral striving after the perfect Holiness of God that Science is unable to explain on the basis of its premises and presuppositions. This phenomenon is just another example of man's dissatisfaction with scientific knowledge alone and his desire to arrive at a more comprehensive description of man's nature, and an understanding of man that is more coherent with the facts of life. That man makes moral choices is a factor of paramount importance in the proper understanding of man as essentially a spiritual entity.

Immortality is also considered by some Fathers to be an element of the Image.²⁸ If God is immortal, then man who is created in His Image must somehow be indestructible. This state of incorruptibility is not a natural endowment, according to the

26. God is goodness, and not a morally neutral Being. Man, too, was created with the stamp of goodness and his nature was positively directed toward the right.

St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, P. G. 44, 184: «Διὰ τοῦτο περιληπτικῇ τῇ φωνῇ ἅπαντα συλλαβὼν ὁ λόγος ἐσήμανεν, ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γεγενῆσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Ἴσον γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο τῷ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι παντός ἀγαθοῦ μέτοχον τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ἐποίησεν. Εἰ γὰρ πλήρωμα μὲν ἀγαθῶν τὸ Θεῖον, ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦτο εἰκὼν ἂν ἐν τῷ πλήρῳ εἶναι παντός ἀγαθοῦ, πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἢ εἰκὼν ἔχει τὴν ὁμοιότητα.»

See also Christos Androutsos, *Δογματική*, (Athens: 1907), p. 139. J. Gresham Machen, *The Christian View of Man* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1947) p. 172.

27. St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 31, 909B: «Τῶν τε γὰρ καλῶν ἐσμέν ἐπιθυμητικοί φυσικῶς, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἄλλω φαίνεται καλὸν καὶ στοργὴν πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ συγγενές ἔχομεν ἀδιδάκτως, καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἐκουσίως πᾶσαν ἔννοιαν ἐκπληροῦμεν.»

St. John of Damascus, Migne, P. G. 94, 972A: «Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἀρετὴ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐδόθη ἐν τῇ φύσει. . .»

28. Tatian, Migne, P. G. 6, 820B: «Λόγος γὰρ ὁ ἐπουράνιος, Πνεῦμα γεγονώς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ Λόγος ἐκ τῆς λογικῆς δυνάμεως, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γεννήσαντος αὐτὸν Πατρὸς μίμησιν, εἰκόνα τῆς ἀθανασίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐποίησεν ἵνα ὥσπερ ἡ ἀφθαρσία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον μοῖραν ἀνθρώπος μεταλαβὼν, ἔχη καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον.»

Athanasius, Migne P. G. 25, 104A, C: «Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον πεποίηκε, καὶ μένειν ἠθέλησεν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ. . . . Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ κατὰ φύσιν ἄνθρωπος θνητός, ἅτε δι' οὗκ ὄντων γεγονώς. Διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν κατανοήσεως, ἡμβλυνεν ἂν τὴν κατὰ φύσιν φθοράν, καὶ ἔμεινεν ἀφθαρτος, καθάπερ ἡ Σοφία φησὶ Προσοχὴ νόμων βεβαίως ἀφθαρσία. Ἄφθαρτος δὲ ὢν, ἔξη λοιπὸν ὡς Θεός, ὡς πού καὶ ἡ Θεία Γραφή τοῦτο σημαίνουσα λέγουσα. Ἐγὼ εἶπα, θεοὶ ἔστε, καὶ υἱοὶ Ὑψίστου πάντες· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἀποθνήσκετε καὶ εἰς τῶν ἀρχόντων πίπτετε.»

Caesarius, Migne, P. G. 38, 1120: «Τὸ δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα, ὡς προέφην, ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἀρχικῶς τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκεῖ, οὐχ ἑτέρως δὲ ἢ ὡς προείρεται. . . .»

Asterius, Migne, P. G. 41, 1101A: «Ὁ γὰρ Θεός ἔκτισε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπὶ ἀφθαρσίᾳ κατ' εἰκόνα τῆς ἀδιότητος ἐποίησεν αὐτόν.»

Fathers, but a gift that is achieved by man as a result of obedience to God.²⁹

Man is a creative being (δημιουργικόν ζῶον) and in this power to create the Fathers find a resemblance of man to God, his Creator.³⁰ Man is able to create civilizations and cultures and to realize the ideas that he conceives, in the example of the First Creator: «Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν» (Gen: 1,26). It is interesting to note that Theodoret of Cyrus writes on the manner in which man differs from God in the exercise of this power to create.³¹ For him, God alone is able to create «ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος» (*ex nihilo*) without effort and pain; man is in need of pre-existing matter in order to build, and requires time and effort.

St. Basil finds a resemblance of man to God in his capacity for fellowship,³² while St. Gregory of Nyssa is keen to observe that man is a mystery and that he is unknowable, just as God his

29 Irenaeus, Migne, P. G. 7, 1107A: «Ὑποταγή δέ Θεοῦ, ἀφθαρσία καὶ παραμονή ἀφθαρσίας, δόξα ἀγέννητος. Διὰ ταύτης τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τοιούτων ρυθμῶν, καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀγωγῆς, ὁ γεννητός καὶ πεπλασμένος ἄνθρωπος κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ἀγεννήτου γίνεται Θεός.»

30 St. John Chrysostom, Migne, P. G. 56, 443: «Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰκὼν Θεοῦ ὁ νοῦς. Ἐννοεῖ ὁ νοῦς, καὶ εὐθέως κτίζει παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἀγοράς, ἀναζωγραφεῖ, ὄχλον, δῆμον.»

Theodoret of Cyrus, Migne 80, 104B: «Ἔστι δέ καὶ ἄλλα εὐρεῖν ὡς ἀρχετύπου μῆμηματα. Δημιουργεῖ γάρ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, κατὰ μῆμῃσιν τοῦ πεποιητός Θεοῦ, καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ τείχη, καὶ πόλεις, καὶ λιμένας, καὶ ναῦς, καὶ νεώρια, καὶ ἄρματα, καὶ ἕτερα μύρια.»

St. John of Damascus, Migne, P. G. 95, 97A: «Κατ' εἰκόνα μὲν λέγεται πᾶς ἄνθρωπος κατὰ τὸ νοῦς ἀξίωμα, καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἥτοι τὸ ἀκατάληπτον, πρὸ ἀθεώρητον, τὸ ἀθάνατον, τὸ αὐτεξούσιον, ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀρχικόν, καὶ τεκνογονικόν, καὶ οἰκοδομητικόν . . . »

31. Theodoret of Cyrus, Migne, P. G. 80, 104 BC: «Ὁ μὲν γάρ τῶν ὄλων Θεός καὶ ἐξ ὄντων καὶ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων δημιουργεῖ, καὶ δίχα πόνου καὶ χρόνου ἔμα γάρ τῳ βουλευθῆναι παράγει τὸ δόξαν ἄνθρωπος δέ δεῖται μὲν ὕλης, δεῖται καὶ ὀργάνων, καὶ βουλῆς, καὶ ἐνθυμήσεων, καὶ χρόνου, καὶ πόνου, καὶ τεχνῶν ἑτέρων εἰς τὴν τοῦ γενομένου κατασκευὴν . . . »

32. St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 31, 917A: «Τίς οὖν οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι ἡμερον καὶ κοινωνικὸν ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οὐχὶ μοναστικόν, οὐδὲ ἄγριον; Οὐδέν γάρ οὕτως ἴδιον τῆς φύσεως ἡμῶν, ὡς τὸ κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ χρῆζειν ἀλλήλων, καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸ ὁμόφυλον.»

St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, P. G. 44, 156B: «Ὁδοῦν ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῶν περὶ τῆς θείας φύσεως θεωρουμένων ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκατάληπτον τῆς οὐσίας· ἀνάγκη πᾶσι καὶ ἐν τοιαύτῃ τὴν εἰκόνα πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἔχειν τὴν μῆμῃσιν.» «Ἐπειδὴ δέ διαφεύγει τὴν γνῶσιν ἡ κατὰ τὸν νοῦν τὸν ἡμέτερον φύσις, ὅς ἐστι κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος, ἀκριβῆ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερκείμενον ἔχει τὴν ὁμοιότητα, τῇ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγνώστῳ χαρακτηρίζων τὴν ἀκατάληπτον φύσιν.»

St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, P. G. 44, 1333B: «Πᾶσα δέ ἡ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀκαταληψία καὶ ἀσάφεια καὶ ἀδηλία, οὐδέν ἕτερον αἰνιττεται εἰ μὴ τὸ κυρίως καὶ ἀληθῶς εἰκόνα αὐτὴν εἶναι τοῦ ἀκατάληπτου Θεοῦ.»

Creator is.³³ The Fathers have also tried to find in man trinitarian resemblances to the Holy Trinity.³⁴

In the effort to determine the deeper meaning of the phrase «κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν» the Fathers have taught that man was created in the Image of God in that he was given the capacity to know his Creator³⁵ and enjoy communion with Him.³⁶

Another important element of the Image which throws light upon the nature of man as being a spiritual being is the fact that he is able to rise above his impulses³⁷ and to direct his thought and spiritual powers toward realities other than natu-

33. St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, P. G. 44, 1329B: «Οὐ γὰρ μίαν τινά εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος κέκτηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέραν, καὶ τρίτην ἐξεικονίζων ὥστερ ἐν ἐσώτρῳ τινι καὶ σκιαγραφίᾳ τυπικῇ οὐ φυσικῇ, τῆς τρισυποστάτου Θεότητος τὸ μυστήριον.»

Cyril of Alexandria, Migne, P. G. 76, 1088: «Οὐκοῦν καὶ εἰ γέγονε, κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ Υἱοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καθ' οὕτως ἐστὶ κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ. Ὅλης γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος οἱ χαρακτηριστὲς ἐλλάμπουναι, ἅτε δὴ καὶ μιᾶς οὐσίας τῆς κατὰ φύσιν θεότητος ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι . . . καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Θεός «Ποιήσωμεν . . . ἡμετέραν» τὸ δὲ ἡμετέραν, οὐχ ἑνὸς προσώπου δηλώσιν ἔχει, διὰ τοι τὸ ἐν τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσιν εἶναι τὸ τῆς θείας καὶ ἀρρήτου φύσεως πλήρωμα.»

St. John of Damascus, Migne, P. G. 95, 228D: «Τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, τοῦτο δηλοῖ, τὸ ἐν τρισὶν ἰδιώμασιν εἶναι τὴν τοῦτου νοεράν καὶ λογικὴν ψυχὴν· τούτέστιν νοῦς καὶ λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα, ὅλον ἐπὶ τῆς θείας οὐσίας, Πατὴρ καὶ Υἱὸς καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον.»

34. St. John of Damascus, Migne, P. G. 94, 1340D: «Τρίτος τρόπος εἰκόνης, ὁ κατὰ μίμησιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ γεγόμενος, τούτέστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος. Πῶς γὰρ ὁ πιστός, τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ἔσται τῷ ἀκρίστῳ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μίμησιν; Ὡστερ γὰρ νοῦς ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ Λόγος ὁ Υἱός, καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, εἰς Θεός, οὕτω καὶ νοῦς καὶ λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα εἰς ἄνθρωπος.»

35. St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 29, 499: «. . . ἀλλ' ὅμως ἦγε τοῦ νοεῖν καὶ συνεῖναι τὸν ἑαυτὸν Κτίστην καὶ Δημιουργὸν δύναμις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει. Ἐνεφύσησε γὰρ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον· τούτέστι, μοῖραν τινὰ τῆς ἰδίας χάριτος ἐναπέθετο τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἵνα τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπιγινώσκῃ τὸ ὅμοιον.»

St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, P. G. 44, 1340C: «Διὰ γὰρ ταύτην καὶ μόνην τὴν αἰτίαν τοιούτων ζῶον ὁ Θεός κατεσκεύασεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐμελλεν ἐν κόσμῳ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος μυστήριον, ὥς δυσερμηνεύτον τε καὶ ἀκατάληπτον· ἵνα ἔχῃς ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ, τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν καὶ τοὺς τύπους καὶ τὰ παραδείγματα τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος.»

36. Irenaeus, Migne, P. G. 7, 1108C: «Ἔδει δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πρῶτον γενέσθαι, καὶ γεγόμενον αὐξήσαι, καὶ αὐξήσαντα ἀνδρωθῆναι, καὶ ἀνδρωθέντα πληθυνθῆναι, καὶ πληθυνθέντα ἐνισχύσαι, καὶ ἐνισχύσαντα δοξασθῆναι, καὶ δοξασθέντα ἰδεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Δεσπότην.»

Athanasius, Migne, P. G. 25, 5 CD: «Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχων ἐμπόδιον εἰς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ γνῶσιν θεωρεῖ μεν αἰετὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ καθαρότητος τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς εἰκόνα, τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, οὐ καὶ κατ' εἰκόνα γέγονεν.»

37. St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 30, 20B: «Ἀρχικὸν εἰ ζῶον, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ τί δουλεύεις τοῖς πάθεσι; τί σεαυτοῦ τὸ ἀξίωμα καταβάλλεις, καὶ δούλος γίνῃ τῆς ἁμαρτίας;

Ibid., 30, 37A: «Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν φύλαττε τὸ δοθέν ἀξίωμα· ἄρχων ἐκτίσθης, ἄρχων παθῶν.»

ralistic ones.³⁸ This power in man to transcend his material being is innate,³⁹ according to the Fathers, and a very important difference which cannot be overlooked when comparing man with the rest of the living creatures.

Besides these ideas on the meaning of the phrase, a few Church Fathers find the Image of God in man in his capacity to love, a capacity that St. Basil also feels is innate in man.⁴⁰ St. Gregory of Nyssa is emphatic on the importance of love in the character of the Image. He is of the opinion that if this is lacking then the whole character of the Image is altered.⁴¹ This view is also taken by modern scholars;⁴² Ian Sutti expresses the idea that the fundamental instinctual endowment in man is the need

38. Tatian, Migne, P. G. 6, 837B: «Μόνος δέ ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωσις τοῦ Θεοῦ. Λέγω δὲ ἄνθρωπον οὐχὶ τὸν ὅμοιον τοῖς ζώοις πράττοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸν πόρρω μὲν ἀνθρωπότητος, πρὸς αὐτὸν δὲ πόν Θεὸν κεχωρηγῶτα.»

Gregory the Theologian, Migne, P. G. 37, 777A: «Ψυχὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἄγμα Θεοῦ καὶ κρείσσονα μοῖρην αἰὲν ἄγαν ποθεῖ τῶν ὑπερουρανίων»

Cyril of Alexandria, Migne, P. G. 74, 277D: «... καθάπερ τινὰ σφραγίδα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἐνέπηξεν ὁ Δημιουργὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ταυτ' ἐστὶ, τὴν πνοὴν τῆς ζωῆς, δι' ἧς πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον διεπλάττετο κάλλος, ἀπετελεῖτο δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἀρετῆς δυνάμει τοῦ ἐνοικισθέντος αὐτῷ διακρατούμενος πνεύματος.»

39. St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 31, 909BC: «Τῶν τε γὰρ καλῶν ἐσμέν ἐπαθυμητικοί φυσικῶς, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἄλλω ἄλλο φαίνεται καλόν· καὶ στοργὴν πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ συγγενές ἔχομεν ἀδιδάκτως, καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις ἐκουσίως πᾶσαν ἔννοιαν ἐκπληροῦμεν. Τί οὖν κάλλος θεῖου θαυμασιώτερον; Τίς ἔννοια τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγαλοπρεπείας χαριεστέρα; Ποῖος πόθος ψυχῆς οὕτω δορυμὺς καὶ ἀφόρητος, ὥς ὁ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ἐγγινόμενος τῇ ἀπὸ πάσης κακίας κεκαθαυμένη ψυχῇ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀληθινῆς διαθήσεως λεγούσης, ὅτι τετραμένη ἀγάτης ἐγὼ εἰμι;»

Caesarius, Migne, P. G. 38, 1125: «... ἀλλὰ συνῆρα τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρωτος ἡμῖν ἐγκατέλειπεν ὥστε διὰ μνήσεως πρὸς τὸν ἐκεῖνον παρσὸν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι.»

Cyril of Alexandria, Migne, P. G. 76, 1087: «Ὅτι γὰρ ἐνεσπάρη τῇ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ ἐκ πρώτης κατασκευῆς παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἔφεσις τε καὶ προθυμία, καὶ γνῶσις, σαφηνεῖ λέγων ὁ πάνσοφος Παῦλος· «Ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιεῖ.»

40. St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 31, 908: «Ἀδίδακτος μὲν ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἀγάπη... οὕτε τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς τεκόντας ἢ θρεψαμένους ἕτερος ἐδίδαξεν, οὕτως οὖν ἢ καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῦ θεῖου πόθου οὐκ ἔξωθέν ἐστὶ ἡ μάθησις· ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ τῇ συστάσει τοῦ ζώου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου φημι, σπερματικὸς τις λόγος ἡμῖν ἐγκαταβέβληται, οἰκοθεν ἔχων τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῆς πρὸς τὸ ἀγαπᾶν οἰκειώσεως.»

Ibid., 909 «Ἐντολὴν τινὴν λαβόντες ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Θεόν, τὴν ἀγαπητικὴν δύναμιν εὐθύς τῇ πρώτῃ κατασκευῇ συγκαταβληθεῖσαν κεκτῆμεθα καὶ ἡ ἀπόδειξις οὐκ ἔξωθεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἂν τις παρ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καταμάθοι.»

41. St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, P. G. 44 137: «Ἀγάπη πάλιν ὁ Θεός, καὶ ἀγάπης πηγή. Τοῦτο γὰρ φησὶν Ἰωάννης ὁ μέγας, ὅτι «Ἀγάπη ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ» καὶ «ὁ Θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστὶ» τοῦτο καὶ ἡμετέρον πεποιήται πρόσωπον ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλάστης. Ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ, φησι, «γινώσκονται πάντες, ὅτι μαθηταὶ μου ἐστέ, ἐάν ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους.» Οὐκοῦν μὴ παρούσης ταύτης, ἅπας ὁ χαρακτὴρ τῆς εἰκόνης μεταπειοῖται. Πάντα ἐπιδέλπει, καὶ πάντα ἐπακούει τὸ Θεῖον, καὶ πάντα διερευνᾶται.»

42. Emil Brunner, *Man in Revolt; A Christian Anthropology*, trans. Olive Wyon (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1939) p. 74: "Man is man to the extent in which he lives in love. The degree of his alienation from love is the degree of his inhumanity."

Panayiotis Bratsiotis, *op. cit.* p. 372: «Ὡς κύριον δὲ καὶ οὐσιώδες στοιχεῖον τῆς εἰκόνης τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκδέχομαι τὴν ἀγάπην.»

to love and be loved.⁴³ It appears then that the Image in man is as a spark of the Divine Love which looks in us for expression. It is unfortunate that man who was created by God to love and to be loved must on account of sin live in a world where hate seems to rule. That this contradiction within him is so strongly felt is an important reason for his discomfort and anxiety. It is of consolation, however, to see that man, even in his fallen state, has the capacity to raise himself above hatred and to express, even in a small way, by works of charity the fundamental truth that he has been created in the Image of Divine Love.

In summing up the Patristic ideas about the nature of man, one is able to conclude with St. John of Damascus that man is a «πολυθρύλητον ζῶον»,⁴⁴ for it is true that much has been and can be said about man. Yet, at the end, man still retains a certain stamp of mystery and remains one of the profoundest riddles of the universe. The Christian view of man, however, does have something to say on this point by way of explanation. It is that: *Man as the Image of God, cannot be totally understood without reference to God his Creator, the First Unknowable.* This the Fathers have pointed out by finding in man the power to transcend the world of physical being and to communicate with God. It is this point exactly where the mysterious element enters, for man, although by nature subject to the limitations imposed upon him by his material being, is at the same time free and unlimited in his capacity for spiritual growth and communication with the Divine Creator. This is obviously in opposition to modern views of man that would like us to believe that man comes into this world with nothing spiritual about him.

The Fathers have clearly brought out also the idea that man in his present state is not perfect, but in a state of development and in sin. According to them, the whole man is in need of redemption and reinstatement, and this can be brought about only by faith in Jesus Christ and obedience to the will of God. For them, to become Godlike (and not God) was the goal of man at the time of Creation and they have tried to express this idea in the development of the phrase «καθ' ὁμολοῦσιν».⁴⁵ This term was used to develop the idea of *Christlikeness*, without which the Christian life is unintelligible. It is difficult to see how

43. Ian Suttie, *The Origins of Love and Hate*, cited by David Cairns, *The Image of God in Man* (London: SCM Press, 1953) p. 233.

44. St. John of Damascus, Migne, P. G. 96, 608C: «Ἐσχατον δὲ πάντων, ὡς περὶ τινὰ βασιλέα, τὸ πολυθρύλητον ζῶον τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ εἰς χεῖρ καὶ εἰκόνη τιμώμενον . . . »

one can avoid using the distinction made by the Fathers and yet be true to the position that man is now in a state of conflict.⁴⁵

On the basis of Patristic teaching, man has been found to be a person, a spiritual, self-conscious and self-determining being, with capacities for moral and religious life. He is the Image of God not only because of his rational nature, and other elements mentioned earlier, but because these divine gifts are directed Godward and place man in a special relation with God the Creator, apart for Whom these seem to be meaningless. This relation, as essential to the understanding of the nature of man, was brought out by St. John Chrysostom, who defines man as a being who not only has a rational nature, but who practices piety and virtue.⁴⁷

Because of the exceptional gifts with which man was endowed, he has taken the highest position in the universe, over and above nature and the animal world. His rational nature, without doubt, has given him the power to rule over other inhabitants of this world and, in addition, the power to control many forces operating within nature. This ability has been emphasized by the Church Fathers, especially St. John Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyrus.⁴⁸ Others, like St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nyssa, have written extensively about the fact that, although man was created to rule in the universe, he has succumbed to sin and is ruled by his own passions.⁴⁹

45. St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 30, 33B: «Πῶς οὖν γινόμεθα καθ' ὁμοίωσιν; Διὰ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου. Τί γάρ ἐστι Χριστιανισμός; Θεοῦ ὁμοίωσις κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον ἀνθρώπου φύσει. Εἰ ἀναδέξω τὸ εἶναι Χριστιανός, ἐπείχθητι γενέσθαι ὁμοιος Θεῷ ἔνδυσαι Χριστόν.»

St. Gregory of Nyssa, Migne, P. G. 44, 273B: «Κατ' εἰκόνα γὰρ ἔχω τὸ λογικὸς εἶναι, καθ' ὁμοίωσιν δὲ γίνομαι ἐν τῷ Χριστιανός γενέσθαι.»

Cyril of Alexandria, Migne, P. G. 76, 1088: «Ὅταν γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ ἁγίους τηρήσωμεν, τότε ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν ἡμῖν ὁράται μορφοῦμενος, καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις διανοίαις τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ χαρακτῆρας εὐαστραπτῶν.»

46. Emil Brunner, *op. cit.*, Appendix I, p. 513.

47. St. John Chrysostom, Migne, P. G. 49, 232: «Ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐχ ὅστις ἀπλῶς χεῖρας καὶ πόδας ἔχει ἀνθρώπου, οὐδ' ὅστις ἐστι λογικὸς μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅστις εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν μετὰ παρησίας ἀσκεῖ.»

48. *Ibid.*, 53, 72D: «Κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς οὖν εἰκόνα φησιν, οὐ καθ' ἑτερόν τι καὶ γὰρ πάντων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄρχοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐδημιούργησεν ὁ Θεός, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστι τοῦτου μεῖζον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν τοῦτου τυγχάνει . . .»

Theodoret of Cyrus, Migne, P. G. 80, 105B: «Τινὲς δέ, «κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ» κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον γεγενῆσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔφασαν, σαφεστάτῳ κεχορημένοι τεκμηρίῳ τῷ τὸν Ποιητὴν ἐπαγωγείν,» καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν . . . Ὡς περ γὰρ αὐτός τῶν ὅλων ἔχει τὴν δεσποτείαν οὕτω δέδωκε τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τὴν ἐξουσίαν.»

49. St. Basil, Migne, P. G. 30, 37A: «Ποῖον μέλλω θηρίων ἄρχειν; καὶ ποῦ μοι ταῦτα πάρεστιν; Ἀγνοεῖς δέ ἄρα, ὅτι μυρία θηρία περὶ σέ, καὶ πάλιν τοιοῦτον ὄχλον ἐν σεαυτῷ περιφέρεις, καὶ ἐντός σου διατρίβει διηνεκῶς; Μικρόν θηρίων ἐστὶν ὁ θυμός . . . ὁ δόλος . . . ὁξύς εἰς ὕδριν. Ἀλλὰ σύ μεν φύλαττε τὸ δοθέν ἀξίωμα· ἄρχων ἐκτίσθης, ἄρχων παθῶν.»

This last element of the Image—*dominion over nature*—has been the cause of much anxiety of late to thousands of people; for man has learned to release a tremendous amount of energy from matter which could easily serve destructive purposes. There is danger in the use of this power over nature, for man in his fallen state is free to turn this power against his fellow human beings. Humanity today, unfortunately, quivers before the possibility that man, driven by hatred and greed, will use this royal gift of Divine Providence as a means of self-destruction.

This danger, however, can be overcome only as man, every human being, is convinced of the fact that he has been created in the Image of God and undertakes day by day the task of becoming more and more Christlike. This is one reason, a very practical reason, why the doctrine of the Image takes such an important place in the thought of our daily life.

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THE NATURE AND PROPER USES OF REASON

According to the Greek Orthodox Tradition

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The Fathers of the Greek Orthodox Church, basing themselves on the Holy Scriptures, on the oral and written Christian traditions, and on their own experience, which was the fruit of a life ordered in strict accordance with the precepts of Christ, have made many extremely illuminating and helpful statements regarding the nature and proper uses of human reason. Their teaching on this important subject is, for the most part, unknown today, except for a very small number of persons. In this study, I shall undertake to give a partial outline of this teaching by collating some of the relevant statements scattered in the works of the Greek Fathers. I shall make special reference to the great ascetic-mystical Fathers, because they have given much attention to the question of the nature of human reason and its place in the Christian way of life. Their works contain many important ideas on this subject, and provide instruction which is of great value for those who are interested in the problem of how one can grow spiritually, of how one can become a Christian in fact and not merely in name.

Man, according to the Greek Fathers, is a dual being, consisting of soul (ψυχή) and body (σῶμα), of an inner man (ἔσω ἄνθρωπος) and an outer man (ἔξω ἄνθρωπος). The soul has various distinct members, parts, or powers, just as the body has. The soul is constituted of the mind or reason, of the heart, of conscience, of the will. The terms the Greek Fathers use to designate the rational part are intellect (διάνοια), rational power (τὸ λογιστικόν), mind (νοῦς). Most often they use the last term. Within the rational part they distinguish two parts or functions: the intuitive and the discursive. They sometimes use the term νοῦς or the term διάνοια in a broad sense which includes *both* functions; sometimes they use the terms νοῦς and διάνοια in a narrow sense, the first to refer to the intuitive function, and the second to refer

to the discursive function. They also use the terms λόγος, λογισμοί, etc., to refer to the latter.

The division of the human soul just given is to be found in the Gospels and in the Epistles of St. Paul; so are the related terms which the Greek Fathers use, with some exceptions. Christ recognized the "heart" and reason as two distinct and important powers or faculties in man, when He formulated what He called "the great and first commandment" as follows: "You shall love the Lord, your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind" (Matt. 22.37; Mark 12. 29-30; Luke 10.27). He tells us here that we should love God with both our heart and our reason. In the original, Greek text of the Gospels, the word which in the English version is translated by "mind" is διάνοια, which is also translatable by the words reason or intellect. Luke employs the term νοῦς, and connects it with σύνεσις, understanding. He says that Christ opened the minds (νοῦς) of His disciples to understand (συνιέναι) the Scriptures (24. 46). The Apostle Paul often uses the term (νοῦς), which is translated in the English versions of his Epistles by the word "mind". In Titus 1. 15, he says that the "very mind and conscience of the corrupt and unbelieving are corrupted." In another Epistle he sharply distinguishes νοῦς from the body. He says: "I delight in the law of God, in my inmost self, but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind and making me captive to the law of sin which dwells in my members. Wretched man that I am! Who will deliver me from this body of death?" (Rom. 7. 22-24). And elsewhere he distinguishes νοῦς from πνεῦμα, spirit. He says, "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the mind also; I will sing with the spirit and I will sing with the mind also" (1 Cor. 14. 15). There are numerous references to the "heart" (καρδία) throughout the New Testament, and a good number of references to the "will" (θέλημα) Luke 22. 42; John 5. 30, 6. 38; etc.). The term "conscience" (συνείδησις) appears frequently in the Epistles of Paul.

The term τὸ λογιστικόν, which is sometimes used by certain of the Fathers, is taken from the Greek philosophers, in particular from Plato and the Platonists. It is used by them as a synonym of mind in the broad sense of the term. Those who use the term τὸ λογιστικόν, e.g. St. Gregory of Nyssa, Hesychios of Jerusalem, St. Symeon the New Theologian, St. Gregory of Sinai, and others, generally make use also of two other terms that Plato used to designate the other two parts into which he divided the human soul: τὸ θυμικόν or θυμός, i.e. the excitable power, and τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν or ἐπιθυμία, i.e. the desiring power. However, they do not adhere slavishly to this schema; they use it occasionally, when it provides a convenient means of expounding some of their ethical ideas, but otherwise employ the scriptural distinctions and terms.

The teaching of the Greek Fathers regarding the actual state of human reason is profoundly affected by the Biblical idea

of the Fall: man is not what he ought to be, and this applies to his reason as well as to his other faculties. Philosophers, especially in modern times, have proceeded on the assumption that human reason is in a natural, normal state, and that all that is needed in order that a man may discover the truth through his reason is to make systematic, methodic use of it. This assumption, however, has been contradicted by the fact that different philosophers, e.g. Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, *et al.*, employing this same faculty, in accordance with the same method, have come out with very different views. The Greek Fathers regard the so-called "natural reason" of which philosophers speak and which they employ as their instrument for the discovery of truth, as being in a very unnatural state, and hence as being a very incompetent instrument. They assert that, as a result of transgression, human reason has become impure, darkened, incapable of perceiving higher truths, of contemplating God. "Originally," says St. Macarios the Great, "reason (νοῦς) being in a pure state, beheld the Lord in His glory; but now, as a result of the Fall, it is in a state of shame . . ." (Ὁμιλῖαι πνευματικαί, XLV, ed. Soterios N. Schoinas, 1954). And St. Symeon the New Theologian says: "The devil and his demons, having succeeded in making man an exile from Paradise and from God, through transgression, acquired the freedom to agitate the rational power (τὸ λογιστικόν) of every man by day and by night through mental influence; sometimes much, sometimes a little, and sometimes a great deal" (Quoted by Nicephoros the Solitary in «Λόγος περὶ νήψεως καὶ φυλακῆς καρδίας», Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Vol. 147. pp. 959A-960A).

Connected with the idea that man's reason is in a fallen, unnatural state, is the idea that it can return to its original, natural state. St. Macarios the Great remarks: "As the visible eye, being pure sees the sun clearly, so reason (νοῦς), having been perfectly purified always sees the glory of the light of Christ and is with the Lord day and night" (op. cit., XVII). And St. Gregory of Sinai says: "For a man to be rational (λογικός), or to become such according to nature (κατὰ φύσιν), as man had been (in the beginning), is impossible, unless one has first been purified and become passionless" («Λόγοι διάφοροι περὶ ἐντολῶν, δογμάτων, ἀπειλῶν» κλπ., Migne, 150, 1240A). "Those," he goes on to say, "who are rational according to nature (οἱ κατὰ φύσιν λογικοί), are those who have become saints (ἄγιοι) through purity" (*ibid.*). And further on, he says: "When it becomes purified and returns to its original status, the mind (νοῦς) looks up to God and receives Divine knowledge from Him. Instead of a book, it has the Spirit, instead of a pen, the intellect (διάνοια) and tongue, . . . instead of ink, light" (*ibid.*, 1245D).

The Patristic idea that man's rational faculty is in a fallen, unnatural state, and is in need of being purified, regenerated, is to be found in the New Testament. That men are under the influence of evil, demonic forces, is a commonplace in the Gospels, in the Epistles of Paul, etc. That men's minds are in need of

a radical change, is also a frequently recurring idea in the New Testament. St. John the Baptist, Christ, St. Paul call upon men to "transform their minds" - - μετανοεῖν. The words μετανοεῖν and μετάνοια are translated in the English versions by "to repent" and "repentance", respectively; but they have a richer, deeper meaning. Μετανοεῖν is derived from μετὰ and νοεῖν, which is the verb form of νοῦς; it means to change one's thinking, one's thoughts, one's ideas, one's values, one's whole mind. We are repeatedly shown in the Gospels that ordinarily, the human mind is closed to spiritual reality, is incapable of perceiving spiritual truths. Christ often reproaches His disciples for their failure to understand His teachings. He says "How is it that you fail to understand . . . ? (πῶς οὐ νοεῖτε;)" (Matt. 16. 11). "Are you still without understanding (ἄσύνετοι)? Do you not understand . . . ? (οὐ νοεῖτε;)" (Matt. 15. 16). Luke reports that after His resurrection, Christ "opened their minds to understand the Scriptures" (24. 46). Up to that time, the eyes of their minds were more or less closed. St. Paul asserts that in the case of the corrupt and unbelieving, "their very minds and consciences are corrupted" (Titus 1. 15-16). He stresses the need of purifying, regenerating the whole man, including the rational faculty, through faith and the observance of Christ's commandments. He exhorts men to "be transformed by the renewal (ἀνακαινώσις) of the mind (νοῦς)." (Rom. 12. 2).

The problem of how the rational faculty may be restored to its pristine, natural state, of how it may, in St. Paul's words, "be renewed," has received a great deal of attention by the Eastern Fathers. The problem, as they see it, is to be solved by an integral approach, which seeks to regenerate the *whole* man. The Christian way *begins* with *faith* (πίστις). One must have faith in the person of Jesus Christ, in His teachings. One must receive the divine teachings of Christ in one's heart and allow it, instead of some philosophy or other merely human teaching to become the rule of one's life. The seat of faith is the heart: man believes with his heart (cf. Rom. 10. 8-10). The heart is the soil which receives the seeds of faith and in which, according to its state, faith grows and brings forth fruit, or fails to do so (cf. Luke 8. 12, 15. 24-25). The Christian *begins* with faith and he *proceeds* by faith. But the more strictly he lives by faith, the more he keeps all the Divine Commandments, the more he *rises above* faith to illumination, to spiritual insight, to the direct perception of spiritual reality. For the reception of Christ's teaching in our hearts, and life in constant conformity to this teaching, purifies the whole man, the mind as well as the heart.

The Greek Fathers frequently quote and comment on Christ's statement: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matt. 5. 8). God can only be seen by a pure mind dwelling in a pure heart. The mind has the possibility of seeing God when, having purified itself from fantasies, useless thoughts and passions, it descends into the heart, guards the heart against everything

that defiles it, and joins it in prayer. This possibility becomes an actuality when one becomes a recipient of Divine grace.

In order to become pure in heart and in mind, in conscience and in will, one must *live* by his faith, one must *apply* the teaching which he has received in his heart; and this involves certain uses of the rational faculty. The mere passive reception of Christ's teaching is not enough: "Faith without 'works' (ἔργα) is barren" (James 2. 20). By the term "works" the Greek Fathers do not understand merely charitable acts, but all the inner and outer acts of man, in so far as these are manifestations of genuine faith. Faith for them is a kind of working, of doing. Faith is conceived and defined by them dynamically, not statically. This is seen very strikingly in the opening paragraphs of the *Practical and Theological Precepts* of St. Symeon the New Theologian. "Faith," he says, "is to die for Christ's sake, for His commandments; and to regard such death as leading to life" (Κεφάλαια πρακτικά καὶ θεολογικά, Migne 120, 604A-605A). Again, he says, "Faith in Christ is not merely to despise the pleasures of life, but also to endure patiently all temptations, griefs, sorrows, misfortunes, until God wills to bestow His grace upon us" (Ibid. 605A). And so on. Callistos, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the monk Ignatios, his friend, agree with St. Maximos the Confessor that: "He who acts, reveals by his actions the measure of his faith . . . ; while he who does not act, reveals by his lack of action the measure of his lack of faith . . ." (Μέθοδος καὶ κανών, Migne, 147, 709A). Now acting in accordance with faith, applying Christ's precepts in all our activities, inner as well as outer, which constitutes full-fledged faith, and leads to the purification of the whole man, necessitates certain uses of our rational faculty. The mind must take an active, leading role. What this role is, we shall now see, as we examine the various functions of the mind.

The Greek Fathers attribute a variety of important functions to the rational faculty of man: contemplation (θεωρία), prayer (προσευχή), attention (προσοχή, νῆψις), reasoning. Hence, they regard it as the leading faculty of man. Thus, St. Macarios calls νοῦς the ruler (ἡγεμών) of man (op. cit., XX), the charioteer (ἡνίοχος) of the chariot of the soul (ibid., XL; cf. I), the governor (κυβερνήτης) of the heart (ibid. XV). And St. Gregory of Nyssa says: the mind (νοῦς) is "the master and steward of our tabernacle; it ought to arrange all things within us well, and to use each one of the faculties of the soul, which the Creator has fashioned to be our instruments and implements, skillfully and for good ends" (Περὶ παρθενίας, ed. J. P. Cavadon, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera Ascetica*, VIII, 317-318). And Hesychios of Jerusalem says that "the rational power" (τὸ λογικόν) must be placed over the other two (parts of the soul - - the excitable and the desiring) as their master, to keep them in order with wisdom and knowledge" (Πρὸς Θεόδουλον λόγος ψυχοφελὴς περὶ Νήψεως καὶ Ἀρετῆς, Migne, 93, 1520A).

Contemplation is the intuitive, direct perception of higher truths by the mind. In its highest form, it is the vision of God. The mystical Fathers, e.g. St. Macarios the Great, St. John Climacos (or St. John of the Ladder), St. Isaac the Syrian, St. Symeon the New Theologian, and many others teach that the contemplation of God is possible even in this life. But they indicate that this is possible only to those who have achieved purity of mind and heart.

Such purity is to be achieved chiefly by attention and prayer. These two practices, in order to be effective, must proceed together, in the heart. This is something the ascetic-mystical Fathers emphatically teach. The heart, they point out, is ordinarily full of fantasies, worldly thoughts, vain thoughts, evil thoughts, and passions. These render the heart impure (cf. Matt. 15. 18-20), make illumination, contemplation impossible. It is necessary that they be opposed and eliminated. A pure heart is a heart which has been freed from them. This freedom is to be attained through attention, prayer, and the presence and action of the Holy Spirit. Christ often exhorted His disciples: "be attentive" (προσέχετε), "be awake and pray" (γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε)." Similarly, the Greek Fathers insist on the need of constant attention, vigilance, or wakefulness, and prayer. Their writings are rich in instructions on how to cultivate these activities of the mind. We must constantly guard our heart seeing that no evil and vain thoughts, fantasies, or passions enter it. Through attention, we must bar the way to their entrance, must not allow the heart to accept them, to attach itself to them, to identify itself with them. "The mind (νοῦς)," says St. Symeon the New Theologian, "should guard the heart when it is praying" («Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τρόπων τῆς προσευχῆς λόγος», Migne 120, 705C). Similarly, the monks Callistos and Ignatios say: "Prayer is true and free from wandering when the mind (νοῦς) guards the heart during prayer" («Μέθοδος καὶ κανὼν», Migne, 147, 740C). And Hesychios says: "The work of wisdom is to incite our rational power (τὸ λογιστικόν) to strict and continual wakefulness (νήψις) and to spiritual contemplation" («Πρὸς Θεόδουλον λόγος ψυχωφελὴς περὶ Νήψεως καὶ Ἀρετῆς», Migne, 93 1492C).

Though the Eastern Fathers consider inner attention or vigilance as a necessary condition for purifying the heart, they do not consider it as a sufficient condition. Here they differ sharply from the philosophers, who have either, like David Hume, greatly disparaged reason, holding that it "is and ought to be the slave of the passions," or else, like Socrates, have exaggerated its efficacy as a moral force, holding that it can by itself master the passions and other undesirable elements in man. The Greek Fathers hold that the rational power of man *can and ought to oppose* wrong thoughts, passions and fantasies, *wage war* against them by means of mental vigilance or attention, but they see that this opposition, this inner war, *cannot overcome and destroy* them, but only neutralize them. Reason with its vigilance on the one hand, and passions, thoughts, and fantasies on the other, con-

stitute *equal, balancing forces* (ισόρροποι δυνάμεις). (Macarios, op cit., XXVII). A third force is necessary to enable reason to overcome, to destroy them—God. Hence the need of prayer, in which we invoke God's aid. St. Macarios remarks: "Mind is a rival (ἀντίπαλος) force, it has a balancing power in relation to sin, of contradicting and opposing thoughts. . . But without God it can not gain victory over evil or uproot it (*ibid.*). Similarly, Hesychios rejects the idea of the sufficiency of human reason as a moral force, and stresses the necessity of prayer. "As long," he says, "as you call on Jesus Christ against the spirits of evil, it (reason) easily drives them away. . ." "But whenever it foolishly trusts wholly to itself, like the bird called swift-winged, it is shaken up and confounded" («Πρὸς Θεόδουλον λόγος» κλπ., Migne, 93, 1488C). Again, he remarks: "It is impossible to purify our heart from passionate thoughts, and to drive our mental enemies out of it without constant calling on Jesus" (*ibid.*, 1488D-1489A). And St. Symeon the New Theologian makes the following masterly statement on these two important practices—attention and prayer, indicating that, in order to be effective, attention and prayer require one another. "Attention (προσοχή)," he says, "should be linked to prayer as inseparably as the body is linked to the soul . . . Attention should proceed forward, spying out the enemies, like a scout; and it should be the first to wage war against sin, and to oppose the evil thoughts which enter the soul. And after attention should come prayer, which banishes and destroys at once all those evil thoughts, which attention earlier had combatted; for by itself alone, attention cannot destroy them" («Περὶ τῶν τριῶν τρόπων τῆς προσευχῆς λόγος», Migne, 120, 701B-C). The prayer which the Fathers especially recommend in this connection is the following: "Lord, Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me!"

Attention and prayer, to be effective, must be in the heart: the mind must descend into the heart¹, guard the heart by means of attention and join it in prayer. Attention is by the mind; prayer must be by both the mind and the heart. Thus, Theoleptos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia, says: "Now look at the method of rational prayer (κατὰ διάνοιαν προσευχή). Converse (inner speech) destroys passionate thoughts; the turning of the mind (νοῦς) towards God banishes worldly thoughts; contrition of the soul (i.e. heart) stops carnal love. It can be seen then that prayer which consists of an unceasing invocation of the Divine Name is a harmony and union of mind, word, and soul (i.e. heart). «Λόγος τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ κρυπτὴν ἐργασίαν διασαφῶν», Migne, 143, 392D-393A; cf. 393B). And St. Gregory of Sinai quotes approvingly the remark of the Apostle Paul: "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the mind also," and of St. John Climacos: "The great doer of the great and perfect prayer says this: 'I want to

1. The mind is conceived as having its center of gravity, so to speak, in the head; the heart, in the region of the physical heart.

say five words with my mind” (Περὶ ἡσυχίας καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο τρόπων τῆς προσευχῆς, Migne, 150, 1320B).

Contemplation, prayer, attention - - these are the uses of the rational power that the Eastern Fathers stress and value. They play down its discursive activity. The activity of discursive reason, which proceeds by analysis, deduction, induction, moving from thoughts to thoughts or from sensory things to thoughts and vice versa, should be greatly circumscribed. This activity should be restricted, so far as possible, to drawing out the implications of the truths of Scripture, to showing the applications of such truths, which (truths) are known through faith, or are apprehended directly, intuitively by the illumined mind. Beyond this, the activity of discursive reason is a hindrance to the Christian, especially to one who is striving for spiritual perfection. For it distracts one from the important tasks of attention and prayer, and makes illumination and contemplation impossible. Pure prayer, illumination, contemplation require the purification, the stilling (ἡσυχία) of both the mind and the heart - - the suppression and elimination not only of passions and fantasies, but even of thoughts, especially of evil, worldly, useless thoughts. True prayer is in the heart. True prayer is in the heart; it is there that the mind is illumined and apprehends God. But a necessary condition for the descent of the mind into the heart is the suspension of the activity of discursive reason. Thus, Callistos and Ignatios say: “The mind does not descend within (the heart) without first relinquishing every thought, and becoming single and naked, freed from all memories, except that of invoking our Lord Jesus Christ” («Μέθοδος καὶ κανόν», Migne, 147, 681A). And Theoleptos says, “God the Logos, invoked by name during prayer, takes out discursive reason (τοῦ νοῦ νόησις) like a rib, and bestows knowledge” («Λόγος τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ κρυπτὴν ἐργασίαν διασαφῶν», Migne, 143, 401B). The highest activity of the mind, the direct apprehension of God, requires the elimination of all thoughts. God is above thought, and hence he who is to contemplate God, to become united with Him, must rise above thoughts, as well as above passions and fantasies. The mobile mind, discursive reason, must become motionless, unthinking, without thoughts. Then the immobile, intuitive mind, guarding and purifying the heart by means of attention and prayer, has the possibility of being illumined and of contemplating Him Who is above all thought.

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ON THE SCHISM OF THE GREEK AND ROMAN CHURCHES

A CONFIDENTIAL PAPAL DIRECTIVE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNION (1278)

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On Saturday morning the sixteenth of July 1054, three papal legates¹ entered the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople during the divine service, and, passing swiftly through the throng of worshippers, made their way to the front of the cathedral. There, on the high altar of the Ikonostasis, they dramatically deposited a bull of excommunication against the Patriarch of the Greek church, Michael Kerularios, and his followers.² Then, once more making their way through the congregation to the door whence they had entered, they ceremoniously shook the dust of the pavement from their shoes,³ proclaimed the words "Videat Deus et

1. Cardinal Humbert of Silva-Candida, Archbishop Peter of Amalfi, and Deacon and Chancellor Frederick of the Roman church, legates of Pope Leo IX.

2. It is to be noted that according to the Latin version of the excommunication (printed in C. Will, *Acta et Scripta Quae de Controversiis Ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae* [Leipzig, 1861] 153-154 and Migne P. L. 143, cols. 1002-1004) the legates explicitly anathematized only the patriarch and his followers, apparently exempting the Emperor, clergy, senate, and people of Constantinople: "gloriosi imperatores, clerus, senatus, et populus . . . Christianissima et orthodoxa est civitas" and, in a subsequent passage, "Michael abusivus patriarcha . . . et omnes sequaces . . . sint anathema Maranatha." See also the Greek version published in Will, *op. cit.*, esp. 162 and 165, and in Migne P. G. 120, cols. 741-746. οἱ δεδοξασμένοι αυτοκράτορες, ὁ κληρος, ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ ὁ λαὸς . . . Χριστιανικώτατος καὶ ὁρθόδοξός ἐστιν ἡ πόλις and Μιχαὴλ ὁ καταχρηστικῶς πατριάρχης . . . καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐπομμένοι . . . ἔστωσαν ἀνάθεμα μαραναθά. On this cf. J. Karmiris, "The Schism of the Roman Church," *Θεολογία*, XXI (1950) 44.

3. In accordance with Biblical prescription (Matthew, X 14) that "if anyone will not receive you or listen to your words, shake off the dust from your feet as you leave that house or town." On this act of the legates see the brief report of Cardinal Humbert himself, printed in Will, *op. cit.*, 152: "Inde mox egressi etiam pulverem pedum suorum excuserre." For another contemporary source and discussion of this act see A. Michel, "Amalfi und Jerusalem im griechischen Kirchenstreit (1054-1090)," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 121 (1939) 52-53.

iudicet,"⁴ ("Let God see and judge"), and departed. One week later the Patriarch, after convoking the permanent (Endemousa) Synod of the Greek church, retaliated by anathematizing both the papal legates and the bull itself, as well as all who accepted it.⁵

With these two acts the growing cleavage between the Greek and Latin churches reached a climax, and, in the tradition of both communions, the year 1054 has long symbolized the final, definitive schism between Eastern and Western Christians. Exactly nine hundred years have passed since this mutual excommunication, and it is on the occasion of this anniversary that the present article has been written.

In recent years attempts have been made to minimize the significance of the year 1054 and to view these two events in a somewhat different light.⁶ One theory adduced for this re-interpretation is that to the general body of worshipers the mutual anathematizations probably signified less a permanent break than a clash between the two intransigent personalities of Pope Leo IX and Patriarch Michael Kerularios.⁷ Previous to 1054, the bishops of Rome and Constantinople had, in fact, on several occasions excommunicated each other, and each time sooner or later the schisms had been healed without permanently affecting the re-

4. These words are also recorded in Humbert's report. See Will, *op. cit.*, 152.

5. But not anathematizing the pope himself. For the actions of the patriarch and the synod, our principal source is the synodical decree itself entitled, *Σημείωμα περὶ τοῦ ὁριέντος πατριάρχου ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ τραπέζῃ παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης πρέσβεων κατὰ τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου πατριάρχου κυροῦ Μιχαήλ, μηνὶ Ἰουλίῳ ἰνδικτ. ζ.* (Printed in Will, *op. cit.*, 155-168 and in Migne P. G. 120, Cols. 735-748.) See also for the events of 1054 Kerularios' letters to Patriarch Peter of Antioch, published in Will, *op. cit.*, 172-188 and in the recent work of J. Karmiris, *Τὰ Δογματικὰ καὶ Συμβολικὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*, I (Athens, 1952) 285-294.

6. See among other works G. Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate* (London, 1947) 153-154 and esp. 173: "The conflict in Constantinople was dramatic and colorful, but it left things very much as they were before." S. Runciman, "Adhemar of Le Puy and the Eastern Churches," *Actes du VI^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines* (1950) 331, says that there was no definite break between the Pope and Patriarch until 1204. Also see A. C. Krey, "Urban's Crusade—Success or Failure," *American Historical Review*, LIII (1948) esp. 248-249: "Far too much has been made of the definitive break . . . in 1054," and the two volumes of A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerularios* (Paderborn, 1924 and 1930) *passim*.

7. The fact that Humbert excluded the Emperor and Greek people from his excommunication has been considered of importance. See for example Every, *op. cit.*, 172 and Krey, *loc. cit.*, 249, esp. note 46. Also J. Gay, *L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1904) 492-494; and the recent work of B. Stephanides, *Ἑκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία* (Athens, 1948) 347-348, who emphasizes Kerularios' contention that the seals as well as letters brought by the legates from the pope had been tampered with. (Cf. L. Brehier, *Le Schisme Orientale du XI^e siècle* [Paris, 1899] 97-104.) Finally, see E. Herman, "I Legati inviati da Leone IX nel 1054 a Costantinopoli erano autorizzati a scomunicare il patriarca Michele Cerulario?" *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, VIII (1942) 214ff., who discusses the validity of the legates' authority, since Leo IX, who had appointed them, died shortly before their excommunication of the Patriarch. Cf. Stephanides, *op. cit.*, 348.

lations of the large body of communicants.⁸ Scholars have shown that contacts between the mass of Eastern and Western Christians remained essentially friendly for a considerable period after 1054,⁹ and it is well-attested that even on a high level relations between Rome and Constantinople were resumed soon after that date.¹⁰

Differences of a political and cultural nature had, of course, tended to separate the Greek East from the Latin West ever since Roman times. But pronounced antipathy, even hatred, between the two peoples began to take firm root only with the first crusades and did not reach fullest expression until a century and a half after 1054, with the capture and sack of the Greek capital in 1204 by the Latin armies of the fourth crusade.¹¹ In the opinion of this writer, therefore, the schism for the Greek people may be said to have become really definitive and unhealable only with the personal experience of enforced conversion to an alien faith during the Latin occupation.

Whatever may be the validity of these interpretations—and there is certainly room for discussion—it is clear that by 1261, at the end of fifty-seven years of occupation, the Greek population had suffered the experiences of a dominated people, which left them permanently suspicious of Latin motives and, in particular, fearful of any papal negotiations for union that might lead to

8. Notably the settlement between Patriarch Photius and Pope John VIII in 879-880 (on this see esp. F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism, History and Legend* [Cambridge, 1948] 196-236) and, previously, the healing of the Acacian and Monothelite schisms. See H. Gregoire's essay on the Greek church in *Byzantium, An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*, ed. N. Baynes and H. Moss (Oxford, 1948) 120.

9. On this see L. Brehier, "Normal Relations between Rome and the Churches of the East Before the Schism of the 11th Century," *Constructive Quarterly*, IV (1916) 669ff.; Every, *loc. cit.*, 158-170; and Krey, *loc. cit.*, 249.

10. But, it should be noted, the excommunications were not revoked. (See Every, *op. cit.*, 175ff.; and esp. Brehier's chapter, "Attempts at Reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches," in *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (1927) 594ff.) In this connection it is of importance that the name of the pope had not been mentioned in the diptychs (δύπτυχα) of Constantinople since even before 1054, probably from the patriarchate of Sergius II (1001-1019) on. This matter of the diptychs is significant because to the Greek people union with Rome was manifested by the reading of the pope's name during the service. On this see M. Jugie, *Le Schisme Byzantin* (Paris, 1941) 166ff.; and the recent articles of P. Charanis, "Aims of the Medieval Crusades and How They Were Viewed By Byzantium," *Church History* (June, 1952) 125 and note 18, and esp. in *The American Historical Review*, LIII (1948) 941-944.

11. For an eye-witness account of the atrocious conduct of the Latin crusaders in Constantinople, exceeding in barbarity even that of the Turks in 1453, see Nicetas Choniates, *Historia* (Bonn, 1835) 759ff.

reimposition of Latin domination.¹² Thus, although history records no less than thirty attempts at union between 1054 and the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453,¹³ every effort, however sincere, seemed doomed from the start to failure.

It is in this context of Greco-Latin antagonism that we may now turn to the main purpose of this article, an examination of a remarkable but insufficiently appreciated document emanating from the papal chancery four years after the attempt of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos and Pope Gregory X to achieve union at Lyons in 1274.¹⁴ Papal as well as Greek archives are, of course, replete with material bearing on the schism, but few documents provide so clear an insight into the methods of papal diplomacy and, though indirectly, to the Greek attitude towards union. For the document in question is a confidential directive of Pope Nicholas III to his nuncios who are about to set out for Constantinople. In it the Pope specifically instructs his legates as to their conduct and the demands to be made on the Greeks for the implementation of the union already signed at Lyons. (It should be noted that union with Rome had been sought by the Emperor in the face of bitter opposition from his clergy and people and only for political reasons—to secure papal aid in warding

12. For an analysis of the underlying Greek fear of Latinization, see my article, "Michael VIII Palaeologos and the Union of Lyons (1274)," *Harvard Theological Review* (1953) esp. 86-89, where it is shown that an imperial Greek envoy returning from the Council of Lyons (1274) was taunted by the Greek rabble with the phrase Φράγγος καθέστηρας ("You have become a Frank"), thus indicating that to the Greeks loss of their faith and submission to Rome meant loss of nationality as well. Cf. J. Karmiris, "The Schism of the Roman Church" (tr. from Greek by Z. Xintaras), *Θεολογία*, XXI (1950) 59: "(The Greeks) perceived that subjugation of the Eastern Church to Rome . . . would result inevitably in the latinization and assimilation of the orthodox Greeks, and consequently in the loss of both their orthodoxy and nationality." Cf. also the opinion of the thirteenth century papal writer, Humbert de Romanis, who considered the quarrel for the occupation of the Greek Empire as the chief cause of the schism (Mansi, XXIV, 126).

13. This is the calculation of L. Brehier in his chapter on unionist negotiations in *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 594.

14. The document is published (in Latin, of course) in *Les Registres de Nicholas III*, ed. J. Gay (Paris, 1898) no. 376, pp. 127-131 (In the present article I shall hereafter refer to it as *Registres*.) It is there undated but Gay has inserted it among other documents, all of the year 1278, a dating with which W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903) 597-598 and A. Demski, *Papst Nikolaus III.* (Munster, 1903) 219-220 seem to concur. V. Grumel, in "Les ambassades pontificales a Byzance apres le I^{er} concile de Lyon (1274-1280)," *Echos d'Orient*, XXIII (1924) 442 and in his article on the Lyons union in *Dict. de Theologie Catholique*, IX, pt. 1, cols. 1397-1398, also dates it 1278 (October), but notes that the legates did not set out for Constantinople until January 1279. Apparently only these scholars have dealt with this document, but they have either merely summarized its contents or not drawn all of its implications.

off the threatening conquest of Constantinople by the powerful Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily and vassal of the papacy.¹⁵⁾

Nicholas' directive begins: "Upon your first arrival you may bless benignly and lovingly on our part our very dear son in Christ, our Michael Palaeologos, the illustrious Emperor of the Greeks and his dear son, noble Andronikos. Likewise, you may carefully inform them how joyfully, how sympathetically we and our brothers received their letters containing their professions of faith, recognition of Roman primacy, and voluntary obedience to Rome . . ."¹⁶

While the opening sentence of this memorandum is typical of papal diplomacy, the second refers to acceptance of the Roman confession of faith and papal authority, considerations which Nicholas as well as his predecessors had constantly demanded from the Greek Emperor as prerequisites to union. In a succeeding passage Nicholas, despite his remark as to the favorable reception of the imperial confessions, directs that another profession of faith and statement of adherence to Rome be secured from the Emperor and his son, and especially, as he emphasizes, "from the patriarch and prelates." The reason for this new request, so the envoys are directed to explain to the Greeks, is that their original professions were not composed according to the exact form prescribed by the papacy.¹⁷

The papal memorandum continues, instructing the envoys to reply to a request of the Emperor for preservation of the Greek rites that "unity of faith does not permit diversity in its confessors or in confession . . . especially in the chanting of the symbol."¹⁸ What this passage refers to especially, of course, is the Greek refusal to accept the Roman addition of the *filioque* to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed. The document expatiates on this matter noting explicitly that "the Roman church, after due deliberation, desires that the symbol be chanted uniformly with the addition of the *filioque* by both Latins and Greeks." As for the rest of the Greek rites, the Pope indicates that the Greeks could retain

15. For an analysis of Michael's policy see my article cited above, "Michael Palaeologos and the Union of Lyons," 79-89. To the bibliography cited there add Stephanides, 'Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία, 355.

16. *Registres*, 127B. For a textual examination of the profession of faith demanded from the Emperor see J. Karmiris, 'Η αποδοιδμένη εις τὸν Μιχαὴλ Ἡ' Παλαιολόγον Λατινικὴ ὁμολογία πίστεως τοῦ 1274, 'Αρχαῖον Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν καὶ Κανονικὸν Δικαίον (1947) 127ff.

17. *Registres*, 128, esp.: "nondum . . . juxta formam ab eadem ecclesia traditam."

18. *Registres*, 128B: "unitas fidei non patitur diversitatem in professoribus suis sive in professione . . . maxime in decantatione symboli."

"only those which seem to the Apostolic See . . . not to impair the integrity of the Catholic faith or . . . of the sacred canons."¹⁹

Returning to the important matter of papal supremacy, the Pope instructs that "the patriarch and rest of the clergy of every fortress, village, or any other place, all and each singly, recognize, accept, and confess with a sworn oath the truth of the faith and primacy of the Roman church . . . without any condition or addition." Nicholas then prescribes for his legates the oath to be taken by the clerics, emphasizing, at the same time, that none of the Greek ecclesiastics be permitted to evade this personal oath.²⁰ The Greek clergy, it is worth noting, apparently had previously objected to the practice on the grounds that such oath-taking by clerics was contrary to their custom.²¹

Mindful that in the last analysis it was the Greek populace that had to be won over to union, Nicholas directed his envoys to make sure that "those who exercise the office of preachers publicly and carefully instruct their congregations in the true faith and chant the creed with the addition of the *filioque*."²² Moreover, the pope prescribed that his legates personally visit all the principal centers of the Empire and collect in cathedrals, churches, and monasteries duly witnessed, individual professions of faith and attestations to papal primacy. Of these statements, signed copies were to be sent to Rome. It was only after deposition of these guarantees as well as an admission of schism on the part of the Greek clergy that the patriarch and his prelates could

19. *Registres*, 128B, esp.: "ipso in illis eorum ritibus de quibus sedi apostolice visum fuerit, quod per eos catholice fidei non ledatur integritas nec sacrorum statutis canonum derogetur." Most important of the rites involved was the Greek use of leavened bread instead of the Latin azymes.

At this point in the document reference is made by Nicholas to a truce to be entered into between Palaeologos and his enemy Charles of Anjou (129A). In a subsequent passage Nicholas, though requested by Palaeologos, refuses to excommunicate the Emperor's Greek enemies, the Angeli princes of Epirus and Neopatrass (131A).

20. *Registres*, 129A, esp.: "que petenda sunt a patriarcha, prelatis, et clere civitatis, cujuslibet castri, vici seu loci . . . prestito juramento." The oath was evidently similar to that taken in 1274 at Lyons by the imperial envoy George Acropolites. See 129A, and cf. with C. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, VI, pt. 1 (Paris, 1914) 177, note 2.

21. *Registres de Nicolas*, 129A: "nullam decet patriarcham, prelatos predictos aut clerum consuetudinem quod jurare non consueverint allegare . . ." It is useful to compare this refusal of the Greek ecclesiastics to take an oath to the pope with similar conduct on their part during the Latin occupation. At that time the oath required for the acceptance of papal authority included the clasping of their hands within those of a legate according to Western feudal custom. On this see the article cited of Brehier in *Cambridge Medieval History*, 606.

22. *Registres*, 129B: "illi qui officium predicationis exercent publice predicent et exponant fideliter suis populis eandem fidei veritatem et cantent etiam symbolum cum additione illa . . . filioque."

request confirmation from the papal envoys of their clerical offices.²³

Nicholas' insistence that the Greek clergy request confirmation of their offices, though particularly inadmissible to the Greeks, was from the papal point of view only to be expected, since all appointments made by a "schismatic" clergy would be considered *ipso facto* uncanonical.

Severe as were these demands, a directive was at this point inserted which was certain to anger and humiliate the Greeks. This was in regard to the dispatch of a permanent Cardinal-legate to the Greek capital. Anticipating strong opposition to such a proposal, however, the Pope, in a revealing passage, charged his envoys "cautiously and diligently to study a way to prepare his [the legate's] arrival, planting the seed in colloquies with the Emperor by affirming that the presence [in Constantinople] of a cardinal with full authority would be very useful . . . and suggesting that the Emperor himself make the request for a cardinal-legate."²⁴

To expedite matters the nuncios were to inquire if the Emperor possessed a record of such a legate in the past, or if anyone could recall the kind of reception previously accorded resident legates or had information regarding their place of residence, size of retinue, and especially the nature of their jurisdiction.²⁵ Doubtless Nicholas here had in mind the cardinal legate who had resided in Constantinople for some time during the period of Latin occupation.²⁶ In the years between 1054 and the Latin conquest in 1204, there seems to have been no permanent papal legate in the capital.

This directive regarding the dispatch of a delegate is probably the most striking part of the entire document. Its implications, however, have too often been overlooked by scholars seeking to understand the reasons for Greek objections to union and mistrust of the Roman church. No doubt to Nicholas, accustomed as the papacy had become to the dispatch of legates to the Latin

23. *Registres*, 129B, esp.: "in cathedralibus et aliis sollempnibus ecclesiis et monasteriis locorum, in quibus professiones et recognitiones hujusmodi facte feurent et . . . redigantur in scriptis." Also "super confirmatione status sui . . . petere curaverunt."

24. *Registres*, 130A, esp.: "caute et diligenter studeatis viam ejus adventum preparare . . . et suggerendo eidem imperatorem quod ipse legatum peteret cardinalem."

25. *Registres*, 130A: "qualiter ibi legati sedis apostolice sunt admissi, qualiter honorati, qualiter exhibiti, ubi specialius consueverant conservari, quomodo prelati et alii veniebant ad vocationem ipsorum, qualiter parebatur eis in judiciis contentiosis et aliis etiam . . ."

26. See Brehier, *Camb. Med. Hist.*, 606.

nations, such a procedure would be merely normal.²⁷ But to the Greeks, unwilling to recognize the remarkable development of papal claims during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this could mean only that their church had now lost its independence of action, and had, in fact, fallen to the same level as a subservient church of the West.²⁸

While for Nicholas acceptance or rejection of this demand would be a test of Greek sincerity for union, for the Greeks the presence of a papal legate in Constantinople, able to dictate ecclesiastical and probably political decisions, would be all too reminiscent of Latin domination. Moreover, the dispatch of a legate would directly contravene Michael Palaeologos' guarantee to his clergy that no pope or permanent papal representative would set foot in the capital.²⁹ Not only would Michael's position among his own people be weakened by acceptance of this proposal, but the antagonism aroused would gravely jeopardize anything he had hitherto accomplished towards union.

Nicholas, despite the general firmness of his tone, seems to have felt a certain insecurity about the Greek reaction to his demands. This is evidenced by his issuance of certain supplementary memoranda in which he instructed his envoys to be prudent and cautious, to gloss over the oral clerical oath if it could not immediately be secured, and, in his own words, "to progress circumspectly lest something be said or done by you whereby the union might be broken."³⁰ Nevertheless, in order not to inhibit the efforts of his legates unduly, Nicholas drew up yet another directive in which he ordered his instructions to be carried out completely, "lest through some crafty astuteness the union might suffer damage."³¹ The Pope, it appears, wanted all of his demands fulfilled if at all possible, but without at the same time so

27. The practice of sending legates with full authority began early in the Roman church, and by the thirteenth century was standard practice. See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX (1910) 118-119.

28. This meant probably that the patriarchal title of *oikouμενικός*, to which the papacy had in the past often objected, would now become meaningless and perhaps have to be discarded. For the significance of this title, especially from the Western point of view, see V. Laurent, "Le Titre de Patriarche Oecumenique et Michel Cerulaire a propos de deux de ses sceaux inedits," *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, III (Citta del Vaticano, 1946) esp. 385-386.

29. Pachymeres (Bonn, 1853) 387.

30. Also in *Registres*, no. 377, p. 131: "si id omnino haberi non possit, dimictatur sub cauta et colorata dilatione. Also no. 376. p. 131: "ne per vos aliquid dicatur vel fiat, per quod negotium rumpatur." Cf. with Demski, *op. cit.*, 220, who does not think that Nicholas mitigated his demands.

31. *Registres*, no. 372, p. 127: "ne per alicujus dolosam astutiam dependia turbationis incurrat." This document, incidentally, is attributed by E. Martene, *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum . . . Amplissima Collectio*, VII (Paris, 1733) col. 257, to Pope Innocent V.

alienating the Greek people that further attempts at union would be futile.³²

Let us now briefly summarize our analysis of the significance of this document for the schism. By explicitly demanding acceptance of the *filioque*, permitting at best only a partial retention of Greek rites, imposing a personal oath on all Greek clerics together with a demand for confirmation of their offices, and proposing even the appointment of a permanent legate to the Golden Horn, the directive reveals that what Pope Nicholas sought through union was nothing less than complete submission of the Greek church to Rome. In addition to delineating these demands, the memorandum provides insight into the diplomacy as well as mentality of a pope significant for the history of the schism, thus helping us to understand, from the confidential words of the pope himself, to what extent the underlying Greek suspicions of papal motives were justifiable. Finally, and perhaps most important, the document suggests why, nine hundred years after the dramatic events of 1054 in Hagia Sophia, the schism between the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches has remained as unbridgeable as ever.

32. In another accompanying memorandum, *Registres*, no. 371, p. 126, the legates were given authority to hear confessions, excommunicate, and impose the interdict on the Greeks. For the agitated events in Constantinople after the arrival of the legates in the first part of 1279 (at a time when Palaeologos even had to forge signatures of his clergy to the papal profession of faith), see Pachymeres, 455-466. Also Grumel, *Dict. Theol. Cath.*, IX, pt. 1, cols. 1398ff.; and my article, "Michael VIII Paleaologos and the Union of Lyons," 82-83.

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Encyclical of the Ecumenical Patriarchate

UNTO ALL THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST WHERESOEVER THEY BE

Our Church is of the opinion that a closer relationship with each other, and a mutual understanding between the several Christian Churches is not prevented by the doctrinal differences existing between them; and that such an understanding is highly desirable and necessary, and in many ways useful, in the well-conceived interest of the Churches, taken separately and as the whole Christian body, thus preparing and facilitating the complete blessed union which may some day be attained with God's help. Our Church, therefore, deems the present time most opportune for bringing forth and considering in common this important question. For although, owing to old prejudices, traditions, and even pretensions, it is probable that there may even now arise or be brought forward the same difficulties which had so often frustrated the work of the union, nevertheless, seeing that it is now a question of contact and understanding, the difficulties in our minds will in any case be less serious, and if there be good will and disposition, these neither are nor ought to constitute an invincible and insuperable obstacle.

We, therefore, on the occasion of the establishment of the League of Nations, which has now been effected with good omen, consider the matter to be both feasible and more than ever timely; we proceed, full of hope, to herein state in summary our thoughts and opinions as to how we conceive this relationship and understanding, and how we consider it possible, earnestly seeking and inviting the judgment and opinion thereon, both of the other brothers in the East and of the venerable Christian Churches in the West wheresoever they be.

We accordingly think that the following two things can most greatly contribute to the attainment of such a desirable and useful relationship, to its accomplishment and public manifestation.

First of all, we deem necessary and indispensable the removal of all mutual distrust and friction between the various Churches caused by the tendency, found among some to attract and convert followers of other confessions. For no one ignores what is taking place, unfortunately, even now—something disturbing the internal peace of the Churches, and especially in the East, on which new afflictions and trials are thus brought on by co-religionists; and how great, as compared with the trifling results obtained, is the hatred and antagonism produced by this tendency on the part of some to attract and proselytize followers of other Christian confessions.

Thus, sincerity and, above all, confidence having been restored between the Churches, we consider as most important the need for reviving and strengthening love between the Churches, so that they may no longer

look upon each other as strangers and enemies, but as relatives and friends in Christ, and as "fellow-heirs and of the same body and partakers of His promise in Christ by the Gospel." (Eph. 3,6). When the several Churches are thus inspired and place love before everything else in their judgment of the others and in relation towards each other, they will then be able, instead of increasing and widening the existing dissensions, to lessen and diminish the same as far as possible. By promoting a constant brotherly interest in the condition, the stability, and the prosperity of the other Churches, by their eagerness in watching what is happening in those Churches, and by obtaining a more accurate knowledge of them, and by their readiness to give, whenever occasion arises, a hand of help and assistance, they will then achieve many benefits to the glory and advantage both of themselves and of the whole Christian body, thus advancing the problem of union.

This friendship and kindly disposition towards one another, to our mind, can be demonstrated and more definitely proved in the following manner: a. by the acceptance of a uniform calendar for the simultaneous celebration of all the great Christian feasts by all the Churches; b. by the exchange of brotherly letters on the great feasts of the ecclesiastical year, according to custom, as well as on other occasions; c. by a more friendly contact of the representatives of the various Churches; d. by establishing contact between theological schools and by the exchange of theological and ecclesiastical periodicals and works published by each Church; e. by the exchange of students between seminaries of various Churches; f. by convening pan-Christian Conferences to examine questions of common interest to all the Churches; g. by the impartial and more historically accurate examination of the doctrinal differences both in teaching and in theological treatises; h. by mutually respecting the customs and usages prevailing in each Church; i. by allowing to each other the use of places of prayer and of cemeteries for the funeral and burial of persons belonging to other confessions and dying in foreign lands; j. by settling the question of mixed marriages between the various confessions; k. and, finally, by the mutual support of the Churches in the work of strengthening religious belief, charity, and the like.

Such a frank and vivid relationship between the Churches will be all the more beneficial to the whole body of the Church, as many dangers no longer threaten any particular Church, but all of them collectively, since these dangers attack the very foundations of the Christian faith and the very composition of Christian life and society. For as the terrible world war, which has just come to an end, has brought to light many undesirable things in the life of Christian nations and also revealed in many cases a great absence of respect for the very principles of justice and humanity, so, too, it has not only made old wounds worse, but, so to speak, opened new ones of a more practical nature, and against which great attention and care is naturally needed on the part of all the Churches. The fact that alcoholism gains ground daily; the increase of luxury under the pretext of rendering life more beautiful and more enjoyable; the voluptuousness and lust hardly covered under the cloak of freedom and emancipation of the flesh; the prevailing and unchecked licentious indecency found in literature, painting, the theatre, and in music, bearing the respectable name of the development of good taste and the cultivation of fine arts; the deification of wealth, and the contempt of higher ideals; all these and the like, inasmuch as they produce serious dangers to the constitution of Christian societies, are questions of the day, requiring and calling for a common study and cooperation on the part of the Christian Churches.

Finally, it is the duty of the Churches, which adorn themselves with the sacred name of Christ, not to forget and neglect any longer His new and great commandment of love, and thus piteously fall behind the example of political authorities, who applying truly the spirit of the Gospel and of the justice of Christ, have already instituted, under happy auspices, the League of Nations with the aim of defending right and the cultivation of love and harmony amongst nations.

For all these reasons, we, hoping that the other Churches will share our thoughts and opinions as stated above on the need of promoting, at least on principle, such a cooperation between the Churches, request each of them to make known to us in reply its thoughts and opinions thereon, so that after defining by common consent and agreement our objectives, we may safely proceed in common to its realization, thus "speaking the truth in love, may grow up unto him in all things, which is the head, even Christ from whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself love." Eph. 4. 15.

At the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the month of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, nine hundred and twenty.

The Locum Tenens of the Patriarchal Oecumenical Throne

- † Metropolitan of Brussa DOROTHEUS
- † The Metropolitan of Caesaria NICOLAUS
- † The Metropolitan of Cyzicus CONSTANTINUS
- † The Metropolitan of Amassia GERMANUS
- † The Metropolitan of Pissidia GERASSIMUS
- † The Metropolitan of Angyra GERVASIUS
- † The Metropolitan of Aenos JOACHIM
- † The Metropolitan of Vizya ANTHIMUS
- † The Metropolitan of Silivria EUGENIUS
- † The Metropolitan of Saranta Ecclesiae AGHATHANGELUS
- † The Metropolitan of Tyroloe and Serentium CHRYSOSTOMUS
- † The Metropolitan of Dardanelles and Lampsacos EIRINAIUS

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THE PROBLEM OF OUR TIME

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I

One of the characteristic facts of our time is that man's life today moves at a faster pace than before. This circumstance has greatly affected the stability of the spiritual and social attributes of human life. Even the rural population, which formerly, despite the changes of urban life, altered neither its manner of living nor the strength of its spiritual and social values, today is stirred by the impetus of progress and has itself become spiritually transformed.

Formerly, the changes in social conditions directly affected only certain strata of the community, but now, however, the changes envelop the whole body of the community and leave untouched not even those who live a simple pastoral life. That which is termed objective, social, and historical spirit as incorporated in institutions, morals, and customs—this was in the past the universal law which controlled the life of mankind. Changes existed even then, but these did not disturb the objective spirit. Today, the entire world, all mankind, is mentally and spiritually being pushed away from the old established modes of life toward new, fluid and unstable ones. There is occurring today an inner emigration, spiritual as well as social, which threatens to uproot everything, a retrogression of the spirit and mind toward nothingness. This uprooting, on the one hand, turns man away from the fundamental and permanent paths of life, while, on the other, it assimilates and levels. Thus, qualitative differences disappear, and there emerges in their place the uniformity of emptiness and chaos.

This process creates what our epoch terms "mass" (μάζα), that is a multitude of men separated from tradition and the experiential spirit of the people—a crowd without any inner values or metaphysics, which is therefore abandoned to every kind of influence or spiritual and mental seduction. The "mass" is in contradistinction to the "people" (λαός). That which is called

"people" is completely disciplined internally; it has organic unity, purposeful ways of life, and definite modes of thought. Now these modes are formed after long and numerous internal and external conflicts. The "people" lives, above all, with and by means of tradition (παράδοσις), with which it is continually experimenting, always qualitative and never quantitative as is the "mass". The "people" lives permanently within a spiritual and mental environment which it is forever in the process of creating; the "people" at all times has imagination. The "mass", on the contrary, is undisciplined, indifferent, quantitative, and lacking in self-responsibility. The "mass" is passive and always the victim of the currents of propaganda.

The tragedy of our time is that each individual lives a divided life. Today each person is, at the same time, people and mass. On the one hand he feels the necessity of adhering closely to tradition (παράδοσις) and the spirit of the people in whatever has been transmitted to him. On the other, however, he is constrained by the change of conditions and frequently lives the life of the "mass". As "people", the individual wishes to turn to the past, to direct his spirit and mentality toward the objective revelation of tradition, toward the internal life and the spirituality of his historical being. As "mass", however, the same individual inclines toward the fashions of the times, toward the transitoriness of the cinema and other mechanical media. For example, as "people", the individual struggles to establish himself and to become a personality, while, at the same time, as "mass" he is in danger of being mentally and spiritually debilitated. This, then, is the tragic conflict which today is taking place within us.

Between "people" and "mass", however, there exists a third type of life, the so-called "public" (κοινόν), the "observers". This type of life is the first step from the "people" to the "mass". All of us are at the same time also part of the "observers", especially today. The "public" has artistic, literary, and spiritual interests, but it lacks metaphysical ones. The "public" has been cut off from universal principles by which the "people" lives. The "public" is the reader, the consumer of spiritual food. The "public" at all times demands new spiritual nourishment. The "people" has books of permanent value as the ancients had Homer, and the Christians the Holy Scriptures. The "people" does not take cognizance of spiritual movement; it is not ephemeral in scope, and for this reason it is constantly viable. The "people" lives from the inexhaustible source of tradition which is continually renewed within its imagination.

This third type of life, the "public" is today becoming much more important than before. The ability to read and write is now generally widespread, and the circle of the reading public is continually being enlarged. However, the metaphysical depth of life is correspondingly diminishing, and has, in fact, already

declined considerably. On the contrary, in the Middle Ages men possessed metaphysical sensitivity and depth despite the inability of most people to read and write. The problem, then, is how within the individual, which runs the risk of becoming "mass", or has, in fact, already become so—how, from within the individual (which in his capacity as reading public and "observer" consumes everything) there can emerge those deep tendencies for the recovery of man's essence; how, from the danger of becoming "mass", we can once more return to our personal being; how we can once more find ourselves, not through "mass" or "observers", but as a personality.

For man the ways back to his true being are many. One of these is the historical way. What man is in essence we can clearly see from history. History would be an insignificant current of life, an impersonal and darkened passage, were not great figures lifted to eminence, who, by their spirit, opened up horizons and shed light on the panorama of life. These figures are the highest expressions of historic life. Artists, religious leaders, prophets, writers, philosophers, scholars, politicians—all these have illumined the being of man and provided eternal meaning to life. All of these do not constitute a simple picture gallery of forms, but, in reality, regulate the internal aspects of our life since they are the creators of ideas which affect our whole existence. When we turn in spirit toward the past, the principal objective is to discern man's inner being, to observe how man received objective spiritual form and expression, and how he conquered non-entity. This turning to history is at the same time also a turning away from what we have termed "mass". The words of the spirit, as they exist in history—an ancient Greek tragedy or a dialogue of Plato—are not strange to our inner self; they are revelations of our internal existence. Therefore, a deeper knowledge of these will liberate us and increase our desire to ascend from the lower to a higher plane, from the transitory to the eternal. From this interaction between our age and that of the past, it is possible that in our time too works can be created that will endure the ravages of time.

II

In the past religion affected all aspects of life. The totality of social conditions and expressions sprang from the spirit and atmosphere of religion, and this regulated the entire manner of man's life. This applied to Greek antiquity as well as to the Christian Middle Ages, both Eastern and Western. From this spirit of religion ancient Greek art originated, also Byzantine and Gothic. But today religion, in spite of its unaltered universality and catholicity of spirit, constitutes only one aspect of life and the spirit. From the period of the Renaissance onwards, the phases of man's

activity, both theoretical and practical, were divided from each other more fundamentally than before, and all of them separated from their religious source. At the same time faith began to diminish as did the metaphysical awareness of man. Men began to feel differently and to become more social-conscious, more materialistic, and more mechanical.

Man's withdrawal from religion and metaphysical awareness was rare at the beginning of this period, but, little by little, such a situation prevailed. Conditions, both of work and the life of men, began from that time to change fundamentally, so that with the dominance of mechanical skill, especially in our period, there emerged what is called "mass", that is a crowd without metaphysical and religious faith.

In our time lack of faith, the spiritual, mental, and metaphysical barrenness of mankind, is greater than ever before. Such nihilism never previously became widespread as a mode of thought. Of nihilism Nietzsche was both the prophet and victim. He is the one who saw all the inexorable consequences of the nihilism of contemporary man and he battled in vain to vanquish it. Nihilism takes on various guises within all phases of life and spirit, from the political to the artistic and philosophic. With conditions as they are today it would seem that the entire body of tradition from Homer to Shakespeare and Goethe is endangered.

A universal threat against the inner being of man has enveloped our age. During the Second World War in place of religion and metaphysics, pseudo-political and pseudo-scientific ideologies, contemporary universal theories of life such as Marxism, psychoanalysis, the theory of a superior race—all these together constituted the theoretical support of the "mass". These ideologies and other related ones dried up man's imagination, reduced his sensitivity, and above all, enslaved his spirit. Men became passive beings, creatures without souls, and beings of mechanical motivation. Logical spontaneity, initiative, and in general, self-awareness—these basic, experiential modes of accomplishment and preservation of spiritual freedom, foundered in the inundation of the so-called ideologies. And men in their desperation mortgaged their entire spiritual being in the stock-exchange of ideology, which issues gilt-edged bonds for all those spiritually enslaved.

The desolation of personal life creates a need in man for striking impressions, and spiritual deprivation produces a need for stimulation of the spirit. Many are the examples of man's self-estrangement from his internal being. In this self-estrangement, man, instead of possessing simplicity (which is the only form of the true and the beautiful), ends up with the artificial simplification of everything. And this is precisely a spiritual compulsion and a destruction of the works of the spirit.

Thus, while everything in our time is simplified (indeed, nothing truly simple exists), and while simplicity has within itself infinite meaning whether conceived in truth, beauty or holiness, artificial simplification cuts everything to pieces and adapts all to whatever system is prescribed. Thus, modes of existence interplay in our daily life of political, artistic, and spiritual activities, wrangling amongst themselves on the radio waves, while at the same time they put aside mythical and mystical symbols of life which sprang from the metaphysical awareness and faith of men.

There is not any sole cause for the universal spiritual crisis which we are experiencing and for this reason any one-sided explanation would be mistaken. But neither is it possible for us to supervise all the shocks and changes that occur, simply because our life and spirit are bound up with them. There is one characteristic, however, that cuts deeply into our time and opens up in our being an inexorable chasm. This feature is mechanical skill which today leaves nothing untouched.

It would be an exaggeration, however, to attribute to mechanical skill the sole cause for the change of things, the reason for man's spiritual self-estrangement. Certainly undue emphasis on such technique can produce a spiritual and psychic crisis. But even before we experienced the despotism of mechanical skill over man's spirit, there had appeared those spiritual movements which have today led to man's self-estrangement. First came the so-called Age of Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, which promised to shed light on life's problems but resulted in shattering the meaning and metaphysical essence of these problems. (Mainly it destroyed the mythical and mystical core of man.) It analyzed man's being as a nondescript cell, a molecule of matter, while it looked upon his spirit as a blank tablet. Upon this blank tablet the so-called ideologies of the period and the last century inscribed their alphabet and they forced man to spell out symbols which alienated man from his humanity as well as from his own being.

A return to the inner being of man, to his innermost self, is the great need of our time.

Translated from the Greek
By Deno J. Geanakoplos

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“THE TENSIONS OF THE WORLD AND OUR UNITY IN CHRIST”

ARCHBISHOP MICHAEL, D.D.

An address delivered by His Eminence Michael,
Archbishop of North and South America, on the 27th of August, 1954
before the Evanston Conference of the World Council of Churches.

The entire world in which we live today is divided into two opposing and hostile camps, or rather to be more fully within the truth, should I say it is in fact divided into two worlds. Such is the cruel reality and so demonstrates the truth of things, with these two great areas separated one from the other by the so-called Iron Curtain. Such is the condition of the world, and its division is a matter of great concern not only to politicians and to diplomats, but it also very much concerns those who are responsible for the inner, the psychical world of men, the religious leaders and clergymen of the various Churches and denominations.

So that we may once again be fully within the truth, we should say today's division of humanity into two actively hostile camps is a circumstance that should more concern the religious leaders of all Churches and denominations, if it is granted that these two worlds of which we speak are at least in theory divided in a psychical and spiritual sense.

Let us come now to the details of today's state of affairs and let us endeavor—in the spirit of the sincerity, the humility and the love that should mark every conscientious Christian—to examine the subject at hand: **“The Tensions of the World and Our Unity in Christ.”** Let us label the one world which is beyond the Iron Curtain, the world of the materialistic explanation and concept of life. The other to which all of us belong is a world whose people are free to believe whatever they wish, as is certainly the case.

I do not feel there is any necessity for us to say much about what lies beyond the Iron Curtain. For even if we should wish to say much, we would be unable to do so, because between our world and theirs has come an awful chasm and there rises abruptly the forbidding Iron Curtain that does not permit us to know exactly what transpires behind it. Moreover we must confess that for the first time in history, particularly in the times of the tremendous progress achieved in the outward civilization of humankind, it has come to pass that an entire world comprising hundreds of millions has been separated fully and perfectly from all the rest. Woe unto us if one day Almighty God should condemn us to live the life of the Iron Curtain, or rather the life of the camp circumscribed by the Iron Curtain or Wall! Should this ever come about, it would signify that our sins have reached the very Heavens, seeking retribution for our complete apostasy from God.

At any rate, from the few yet certain and incontrovertible news items and other information we have from the lands beyond the Iron Curtain, we know that in that sphere there prevails not only the materialistic explanation and concept of life, but also the brute force which has stifled every form of freedom of action and even of expression and thought. It is a characteristic fact that in the countries behind the Iron Curtain the existence of any political party other than that of the Communists is not tolerated. This is truly puzzling, as those who reign there miss absolutely no opportunity to proclaim that it is they and only they who represent and practice real freedom and true democracy. The attitude is so curious that one reaches the conclusion that the people who live beyond the Iron Curtain have ceased to use logic as we know it, and that together with the materialistic explanation and concept of life they have adopted another kind of logic.

So precisely for these reasons there occur two diametrically opposed methods of thinking, our and theirs. What we call a lie is for them truth; what for us is justice is for them injustice; what for us is slavery is for them freedom; what for us is darkness is for them light.

With respect to what I have been saying I should like to mention something I have many times told privately to friends, something I shall never forget because it demonstrates fully how Communism lives and thinks. After the Communist movement had been crushed in our native Greece and I was visiting imprisoned Communists, I once asked a few of them who happened to have had a college education, why, if they insist that only they represent genuine liberty and democracy, they prohibit in the lands where they prevail the functioning of political parties other than Communist. Invariably their unanimous response was this: those citizens who are not Communists simply have no right to vote.

And naturally, as they have no right to vote, they do not have the same privileges as the rest of the citizenry and are therefore considered the slaves of the ruling party; nor are the non-Communist citizens at all times certain in the security of their very lives in Communist countries, as we know the harsh truth to be by the testimony of those who in the past have found themselves there either against their will or as visitors; and incidentally, among the latter is your speaker.

Thus in the world beyond the Iron Curtain totalitarianism holds sway, the way of life that finds there its fullest and most perfect application, the theory by which everyone and everything belongs to the State, the people being nothing more than numbers without soul or will, whom the State disposes however it wishes, wherever it wishes and to whatever extent it wishes.

In any event, the Communists boast that only they have no trouble with strikes or periodic disturbances and agitation by the various working social classes—as if these bothersome circumstances could occur in jails or cemeteries.

Let us see now what is happening in our own camp, in the world of which all of us are members and in which each of us has the right to live as he chooses, to think as he will, to worship God as he understands Him, and to act, though always within the laws of the country to which he belongs. But more particularly let us see what we as Christians do for our brethren who find themselves behind the Iron Curtain, and also toward easing the tensions we note today in the relations amongst the various nations and peoples, or should I say between our world and the world of Communism.

I should like from the very outset to confess in deepest contrition and humility that we think all too little about our brethren beyond the Iron Curtain, whether they be Orthodox, or Roman Catholics, or Protestants, or Jews. While we know all of them are passing through a tremendous, unprecedented, unique ordeal, we are not fulfilling as Christians our duty toward them. What is the first and most important responsibility we have toward these brothers of ours? It is prayer in their behalf—regular and systematic prayer—such as moves mountains, accomplishes miracles, makes possible the impossible. For as we believe, in prayer the one who speaks is He Who said, “The things which are impossible with men are possible with God.”

We Orthodox were rather astonished to read a few months ago in several periodicals that certain Churches are reportedly preparing missionaries whom they would dispatch to the lands beyond the Iron Curtain, once the Curtain of course has fallen, especially to Russia whose population belongs practically in its entirety to the Eastern Orthodox Church. Permit me to say in

the name of my Orthodox brethren that this concern shown by some Churches is most disquieting to us and saddens us profoundly - because we believe that this interest is derived from selfish motives, from motives entirely incompatible with the spirit of love and of mutual understanding that should characterize not only every Christian but generally everyone in this world, everyone who has a Common Father, our God in Heaven; because we steadfastly believe also that our brothers in Russia today, clergy and people alike, hold firmly to the Orthodox faith to the utmost that is permitted by the conditions and circumstances under which they live. And what is more, they struggle not "against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." (Eph. 6:12)

For this reason we should do for them whatever the first Christians did whenever they came to know that some section of the Church was undergoing difficulty, that is, we must pray for those of our brothers who suffer behind the Iron Curtain. Such is the only positive, real assistance we can offer them, and if we offer it to the extent we should and as we should, it cannot but be felt by our sorely tried brethren, irrespective of their religious affiliation. So long as they are troubled and so long as they are our brothers, children of our Common Heavenly Father, if we are conscientious Christians and not Christians by necessity or chance, we have the sacred obligation to pray for them constantly.

The other duty toward them, which all of us have who call ourselves Christians, no matter to what confession we subscribe, is to endeavor to help the peoples and nationalities finding themselves beyond the ugly barrier of Communism to live in mutual understanding and in love.

This spirit of mutual understanding and love was proclaimed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the famous encyclical it addressed to all Christian Churches and denominations in the year 1920. Undoubtedly this gesture of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, examined even today, cannot but be considered a most significant milestone in the relations of all Churches and denominations toward one another. We humbly submit that if in the spirit of this encyclical the various Churches should wish to work and to regulate their mutual relations, then there would automatically be cultivated amongst the men of all the world the Christian spirit of love. For when love is distinguished by those characteristic features set forth by St. Paul in the 13th Chapter of his First Epistle to Corinthians, its influence cannot but spread to the ends of the earth, even to that world which lies behind the Iron Curtain.

But so that this effort be prosecuted successfully, certain other things must simultaneously be done.

Firstly, we Orthodox believe that every measure of proselytism on the part of one Church at the expense of another comprises one further reason for the deterioration of relations amongst the various Churches and denominations and for the deterioration generally of the happy state of relations among men. For this reason we Orthodox have never encouraged and we shall never encourage Christians of other Churches to join our own. It is entirely another matter, of course, if someone of his own accord, willingly and voluntarily, should wish to join our Church or some other. But there is a tremendous difference between this and the existence of organizations whose members systematically try to win over the members of other Churches through the use of propagandistic books, pamphlets, sermons, even through personal visits from house to house. No, we Orthodox do not believe in, we do not encourage, we do not approve of proselytism — because proselytism among Christians means dissension, it means a growth in our differences, the promotion of enmity and the intensification of hatred among men. Where such efforts exist and are pursued today, they most certainly must cease. For those who proceed in this fashion, so thoroughly lacking in love, not only fail to contribute to the easing of the tensions which beset mankind, but on the contrary they aggravate the situation even more, and they render much more difficult the achievement of cordial relations based on mutual understanding among men.

Secondly, the encyclical of 1920 of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, to which we have previously alluded, makes mention of the meeting of representatives of the Churches in the spirit of mutual understanding and Christian rapprochement for the friendly discussion of such matters as keep us apart. The more frequently these meetings are held, the better the representatives of the different Churches come to know one another; the better they know one another, the more fully they understand themselves, the more readily is dissipated the bitterness of the contrasting views that exist among them and the more they respect and love each other.

Here in America I have a very dear friend who has distinguished himself in the field of Roman Catholic theology, a man whom I have known for many years. I must admit that he examines the existing differences between our Churches with a genuine impartiality and a thorough independence of mind. When some years ago we met somewhere here in the United States, over a friendly dinner table, and we discussed again certain of the basic differences between our two Churches, Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, we found ourselves fundamentally in virtual agreement, and if the union of the two Churches depended on the two of us, there would perhaps come very very soon that gladsome, joyous consequence.

It is on such a basis that Cardinal Mercier and the late lamented Lord Halifax worked together at one time. These two

men, outstanding for the profundity of their spiritual life, had by their cooperation generated in the hearts of many Christians the hope of a friendly collaboration between the Anglican Communion and the Roman Catholic Church. If this endeavor had continued even after the passing of these illustrious gentlemen, perhaps the relations of the two Churches would have been brought much closer than they are today.

In such a spirit, then, was the encyclical of 1920 of the Ecumenical Patriarchate written.

The whole world today, the nations and the peoples that make up the world, need above all mutual understanding and love. If we who represent different Churches and denominations do not take the initiative in the effort to foster among men the Christian spirit of love and of cooperation, then there is no hope for the improvement of the unfortunate state of the world. For the world to improve, we humbly believe we must dedicate less of our time to the discussion of the differences between us, and more, much more of our time to the study of the Gospel of Christ, especially to the Sermon on the Mount. It is curious indeed and truly most remarkable that Christians of the various Churches and denominations, when they study in common the Sermon on the Mount, are in accord on almost all of its points—just as they are in accord when they study the wonderful masterpieces of the Great Fathers and Teachers of the Church, of Basil the Great, of Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom; just as they are in accord when they study “The Imitation of Christ” of Thomas a Kempis, “The Inner Life of the Soul” of Nicholas Grou, the letters of Brother Laurens on “The Presence of God”, and “The Life of Christ” of Archpriest John of Kronstadt.

In all of these masterpieces which even today one finds in the hands of Christians of all denominations, there is the laudable and most beautiful endeavor to create and to develop spiritual life, conscientious Christians; only then shall we be more than certain to work and to contribute in the best and most effective way to the improvement of the relations among groups and individuals, and only then shall we truly meet the challenge of the world of the Iron Curtain—for it is then that we shall be living in Christ. Only conscientious Christianity and the pure life in Christ can cure the world of every evil vestige of totalitarianism.

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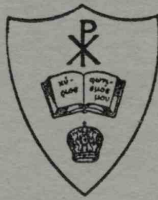
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Volume I

August, 1954

Number 1



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SHORT NOTICES

METROPOLITAN GENNADIOS, Archbishop of Heliupolis and Theira, *History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate*, Vol. I, Pp. 445. (Athens, 1953. Written in Greek)

The author of this monumental work is a prominent Prelate of the Greek Orthodox Church. He is a member of the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople and Chairman of its Committee on Canon law.

Archbishop Gennadios is the author of several works some of them in Greek and some in French. His book entitled "The Main Handicaps to the Reunion of the Christian Churches" has been translated from its original French into the Russian by the American-Russian Society in Paris, France.

His outstanding work, however, is the recently published first volume of the "History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate."

Although many books have been published in other languages, dealing with one or more aspects of the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, nevertheless, in none of these books was this history systematically outlined in its entirety. In view of this demand, the Archbishop of Heliupolis and Theira decided to write this book when he was requested to prepare an article on the same subject for the "Greek Encyclopedia".

In order to obtain the necessary material for this book, the author went through a very extensive research in the National Library of Paris, the Library of the British Museum in London, England, the Library of Oxford University, the Library of the Vatican, and in the libraries of several monasteries. He also scrutinized the archives of the Patriarchate and examined some related files of the Ottoman Empire.

This painstaking research and study of books, manuscripts and archives shed much light on the real meaning and true significance of some historical events, and enabled the author to obtain the material he needed for the preparation and editing of his "History of the Ecumenical Patriarchate".

However, the author is modest enough to admit that this book is not perfect, because, as he explains himself, there are many manuscripts in the libraries of various countries which have not as yet been examined and studied either by him or by any other scholar.

In this volume, the author outlines the events which preceded and followed the formation of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. He mainly deals with a) the first Christian churches in the ancient Byzantium (later Constantinople, now Istanbul, b) the transfer of the capital of the Roman Empire to Byzantium by Emperor Constantine the Great, and why he became the first Christian Emperor, c) the contributing causes to the elevation of the Archbishopric of Constantinople to the status of Ecumenical Patriarchate by the fourth Ecumenical Synod, d) the relations between this Patriarchate and the Eastern Roman Empire (also called Byzantine Empire),

e) the seven Ecumenical (universal) Synods as well as the local ones, f) the propagation of the Christian Faith by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in many parts of the world and the great success of this missionary work, and g) the extent of the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate and its administrative system, etc.

Three main factors make this book valuable.

The first factor is the importance of the subject-matter, that is, the history of the Mother Church, which, against heavy odds, maintained and preserved inviolate the true Christian Faith, as the same was formulated by Christ Himself, by His Apostles, the Ecumenical Synods and the Christian tradition.

The second factor is that the author makes use only of facts, thoroughly scrutinized and ascertained.

The third factor is the competence, the scientific integrity and the style of the author.

This distinguished Greek Orthodox prelate is one of the delegates of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to the Conference of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, Illinois.

Antonios Anastassi

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The Tensions of the World and Our Unity in Christ

ARCHBISHOP MICHAEL

Greek Archdiocese of North and South America
President, World Council of Churches

THE ENTIRE WORLD in which we live today is divided into two opposing and hostile camps, or rather to be more fully within the truth, should I say it is in fact divided into two worlds. Such is the cruel reality and so demonstrates the truth of things, with these two great areas separated one from the other by the so-called Iron Curtain. Such is the condition of the world, and its division is a matter of great concern not only to politicians and to diplomats, but it also very much concerns those who are responsible for the inner, the spiritual life of men, the religious leaders and clergymen of the various Churches and denominations. . .

I do not feel there is any necessity for us to say much about what lies beyond the Iron Curtain. For even if we should wish to say much, we would be unable to do so, because between "us and them there is a great gulf fixed" and there rises abruptly the forbidding Iron Curtain that does not permit us to know exactly what transpires behind it. Moreover we must confess that for the first time in history, particularly in the times of the tremendous progress achieved in the outward civilization of humankind, it has come to pass that an entire world comprising hundreds of millions has been separated fully and perfectly from all the rest. Woe unto us if one day Almighty God should condemn us to live the life of the Iron Curtain, or rather the life of the camp circumscribed by the Iron Curtain or Wall! Should this ever come about, it would signify that our sins have reached the very Heavens, seeking retribution for our complete apostasy from God. . . .

Communism is without any doubt whatever, the greatest rival to Christianity that has yet been seen upon this earth. And just as Christ asks for and wants the whole man, so also does Communism ask for and want the whole man—but of course with this difference, that while Communism forces people willingly or unwillingly to follow it, Christ says to us the well known "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me."

Another point that constitutes a tremendous challenge to us who call ourselves Christians is the fact that the Communists, no matter where

they find themselves, no matter what country or nation or race they may belong to, consider themselves comrades and brethren; precisely as the first Christians whom we, the Christians of today, should imitate above all, did consider themselves brothers no matter where they met. . . .

For if all of us who call ourselves Christians were to act toward Christ and toward one another as faithfully as the Communists with their own system and toward one another, then certainly the Kingdom of God would be firmly established in our days on this earth. It is this point, in our humble opinion, that our Heavenly Father wishes to teach us when he tolerates today the existence and the progress of Communism and the unity of the anti-religious and anti-Christian powers. . . .

Let us see now what is happening to our own camp, in the world of which all of us are members and in which each of us has the right to live as he chooses, to think as he will, to worship God as he understands Him, and to act, though always within the laws of the country to which he belongs. But more particularly let us see what we as Christians do both for our brethren who find themselves behind the Iron Curtain, and also toward easing the tensions we note today in the relations amongst the various nations and peoples, or should I say between our world and the world of Communism. . . .

We Orthodox were rather astonished to read a few months ago in several periodicals that certain Churches are reportedly preparing missionaries whom they would dispatch to the lands beyond the Iron Curtain, once the Curtain of course has fallen, especially to Russia whose population belongs practically in its entirety to the Eastern Orthodox Church. Permit me to say in the name of my Orthodox brethren that this concern shown by some Churches is most disquieting to us and saddens us profoundly—because we believe that this interest is derived from selfish motives, from motives entirely incompatible with the spirit of love and of mutual understanding that should characterize not only every Christian but generally everyone in this world, everyone who has a Common Father, our God in Heaven; because we steadfastly believe also that our brothers in Russia today, clergy and people alike, hold firmly to the Orthodox Faith to the utmost that is permitted by the conditions and circumstances under which they live. And what is more, they struggle not “against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.” (*Eph. 6:12*)

For this reason we should do for them whatever the first Christians did whenever they came to know that some section of the Church was undergoing difficulty, that is, we must pray for those of our brothers who suffer behind the Iron Curtain. Such is the only positive, real

assistance we can offer them, and if we offer it to the extent we should and as we should, it cannot but be felt by our sorely tried brethren, irrespective of their religious affiliation. So long as they are troubled and so long as they are our brothers, children of our Common Heavenly Father, if we are conscientious Christians and not Christians by necessity or chance, we have the sacred obligation to pray for them constantly.

The other duty which all of us have who call ourselves Christians, no matter to what confession we subscribe, is to endeavor to help the peoples and nations finding themselves this side of the ugly barrier of Communism to live in mutual understanding and in love.

This spirit and mutual understanding and love was proclaimed by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in the famous encyclical it addressed to all Christian Churches and denominations in the year 1920. Undoubtedly this gesture of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, examined even today, cannot but be considered a most significant milestone in the relations of all Churches and denominations toward one another. We humbly submit that if in the spirit of this encyclical the various Churches would wish to work and to regulate their mutual relations, then there would automatically be cultivated amongst men of all the world the Christian spirit of love. For when love is distinguished by those characteristic features set forth by St. Paul in the 13th chapter of his First Epistle to Corinthians, its influence cannot but spread to the ends of the earth, even to that world which lies behind the Iron Curtain.

But so that this effort be prosecuted successfully, certain other things must simultaneously be done.

Firstly, we Orthodox believe that every measure of proselytism on the part of one Church at the expense of another comprises one further reason for the deterioration of relations amongst the various Churches and denominations and for the deterioration generally of the happy state of relations among men. For this reason we Orthodox have never encouraged and we shall never encourage Christians of other Churches to come and join our own. It is entirely another matter, of course, if someone of his own accord, willingly and voluntarily, should wish to join our Church or some other. But there is a tremendous distinction between this and the existence of organizations whose members systematically try to win over the members of other Churches through the use of propagandistic books, pamphlets, sermons, even through personal visits from house to house. No, we Orthodox do not believe in, we do not encourage, we do not approve of proselytism—because proselytism among Christians means dissension, it means a growth in our differences, the promotion of enmity and the intensification of hatred among men. Where such efforts exist they most certainly must cease.

Secondly, the encyclical of 1920 of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, to which we have previously alluded, makes mention of the meeting of representatives of the Churches in the spirit of mutual understanding and Christian rapprochement for the friendly discussion of such matters keeps us apart. The more frequently these meetings are held, the better the representatives of different Churches come to know one another. . . .

The whole world today, the nations and the peoples that make up the world, need above all mutual understanding and love. If we who represent different Churches and denominations do not take the initiative in the effort to foster among men the Christian spirit of love and of cooperation, then there is no hope for the improvement of the unfortunate state of the world. For the world to improve, we humbly believe we must dedicate less of our time to the discussion of the differences between us, and more, much more of our time to the study of the Gospel of Christ, especially to the Sermon on the Mount. It is curious indeed and truly most remarkable that Christians of the various Churches and denominations, when they study in common the Sermon on the Mount, are in accord on almost all of its points—just as they are in accord when they study the wonderful masterpieces of the Great Fathers and Teachers of the Church, of Basil the Great, of Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom; just as they are in accord when they study "The Imitation of Christ" of Thomas a Kempis, "The Inner Life of the Soul" of Nicholas Grou, the letters of Brothers Laurens on "The Presence of God," and "The Life of Christ" of Archpriest John of Kronstadt.

In all of these masterpieces which even today one finds in the hands of Christians of all denominations, there is the laudable and most beautiful endeavor to create and develop spiritual life, i.e. conscientious Christians. If we succeed in creating armies of conscientious Christians in our Churches, then we shall be more than certain to work and to contribute in the best and most effective way to the improvement of the relations among groups and individuals, and only then shall we truly meet the challenge of the world of the Iron Curtain—for it is then that we shall be living in Christ. Only conscientious Christianity and the pure life in Christ can cure the world of every evil vestige of totalitarianism. This is the only sure way to slacken the existing tensions of the world today and at the same time the way of emphasizing and underlining our unity in Christ. This is the only means through which there is a possibility for the prayer of our Lord Jesus Christ to be realized: "Neither pray I for these alone but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

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WAYS OF ACCEPTING NON-ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS INTO THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

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This study is concerned with the practice of the Orthodox Church in accepting non-Orthodox Christians, namely a. Roman Catholics, Old Catholics and Uniates; b. Nestorians and Monophysites, i.e., Armenians, Copts, Ethiopians, Jacobites and the Christians of Thomas; c. Protestants of all denominations, and specifically members of the three largest groups, Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans. The solution to this vexing problem is obviously connected with the acceptance of the validity of the baptism of these non-Orthodox Christians. It follows, then, that our study must be mainly concerned with the validity of their baptismal rites, for the manner of accepting them will be based upon the conclusions reached by such an inquiry.

Before we proceed, however, with the examination of the validity of the baptism of non-Orthodox Christians, we ought to stress the importance of this question and the need for an official position of the Orthodox Church on this issue, inasmuch as there is a definite variance in practice between the autocephalous Orthodox Churches, and particularly between the Greek and Russian. This variance appears to be the result not only of a divergent historical development regarding the practice of each Church, but the result of the wavering usage of the principle of "economy", which has never been applied in accordance with any strict rules of uniformity.

The Greek Church, for example, in meeting specific situations had up to 1756 applied the principle of "economy" in accepting non-Orthodox Christians, recognizing the validity of their baptism, on the strength of circumstances, and by requiring that they be anointed only with Holy Oil, i.e. to have the Sacrament of Chrism administered. Since 1756, however, the Greek Church reverted to a stricter rule by which all non-Orthodox seeking admission

into the Church were baptized, although on more than one occasion, and especially since the last quarter of the 19th century, the principle of "economy" has been applied as well.

While the Russian Church, on the other hand, until the Florentine Synod of 1439 had applied mostly the principle of "economy", she later reverted to the practice of accepting only by baptism as follows: the Latins until the year 1667, and the Protestants until 1718. Since the above two dates, however, all non-Orthodox Christians are accepted into the Russian Church only by the Sacrament of Chrism and a personal Affirmation, because the baptism of non-Orthodox is accepted as valid.¹

Hence, in the Orthodox Catholic Church we find no single, complete, stable and officially sanctioned rite of accepting non-Orthodox Christians according to their confessional origin, except for an incomplete rite of acceptance prepared by the Synod of Constantinople in 1484,² and referring to Roman Catholics only. As a result, varying forms of the rite of acceptance were used on the pattern of earlier ones which referred to ancient heresies, and which varied in accordance with the teachings of the different non-Orthodox Churches and Confessions to be denounced. This practice continues to this day, the Greek and the Russian Churches having individual rites of acceptance in use.

In view of this situation, it is imperative that the coming Pan-Orthodox Pre-Synod enact authoritatively and finally on behalf of all Orthodox Churches a single and uniform way of accepting non-Orthodox Christians into the Orthodox Church. In addition, a complete Service of acceptance must be drawn, related to each Church and Confession, together with a full list of teachings to be denounced by one seeking admission into the Orthodox Church. A concrete and uniform way of applying the Orthodox principle of "economy", on the other hand, must be agreed upon by all Orthodox Churches. It should be decided specifically, a. which of the heretics and non-Orthodox ought to be accepted by baptism, b. which ones by Chrism, and c. which only by personal Affirmation of faith, which in my opinion ought to follow the Sacrament of Penance and become part of a specific ritual of acceptance.

It is apparent, then, that no correct appreciation of the matter at hand can be reached unless we inquire and ascertain

1. It should be understood, however, that "the varying practice of the Orthodox Church does not in any way disrupt its unity, as in the ancient Church the varying practice of the various local Churches on the question of the validity of the baptism and priesthood of the heretics did not endanger the unity of Church." (D. Balanos, "On the Validity of Anglican Ordinations", in "Ecclesia" 17 (1939) p. 273.

2. See John Karmiris, *The Dogmatical and Symbolical Books of the Orthodox Church* II, 987)9, Athens, 1953.

both theory and practice, a. of the ancient undivided Church, b. of the Church after the Schism of the 9th century, inasmuch as the divided Church has followed rather closely the practice of the ancient Church on this matter. The inquiry into the theory and practice of the ancient Church should reach the very period of the heresies, when certain heretics, after being baptized in heresy, sought subsequently admission to the Catholic Church. It is since then, the third century, that the question of the validity of their baptism arose, which has been the cause of lively discussions, disputes and quarrels within the Church; Tertullian himself, was one of the first Fathers to deal with this question in the 15th chapter of his book "De Baptismo".³ There does not, however, seem to be any evidence that the baptism of the heretics was a matter of controversy within the Church prior to the third century.

I

The Practice of The Early Church on the Admission of Heretics and Schismatics

As we examine the practice of the Church during the period of the Seven General Councils, we find no single and uniform rule adhered to by the early Church in regard to the baptism of heretics and schismatics. Her practice wavered between strict rule and "economy", i.e. at times strictly applying the standard and accepted rules, while on other occasions condescending to lenient "economy", after taking due consideration of the dogmatical teachings of the particular heresy from which those seeking admission came, of the canonicity of their baptism, of local and climatic conditions, of the relationship between the heresy or schism and the Church, and of the ecclesiastical ends pursued by the Church for the purpose of saving those destined for eternal life. For, according to the Book of Canons of the Church (Pedalion), «δύο εἶδη κυβερνήσεως καὶ διορθώσεως φιλάττονται εἰς τὴν Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν τὸ ἓν εἶδος ὀνομάζεται ἀκρίβεια, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο οἰκονομία καὶ συγκατάβασις· μὲ τὰ ὅποια κυβερνοῦσι τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ψυχῶν οἱ τοῦ Πνεύματος οἰκονόμοι, πότε μὲν μὲ τὸ ἓνα, πότε δὲ μὲ τὸ ἄλλο . . .».⁴

It is true that ever since this question originated, the Church, complying with the dogmatical principle of not repeating the Sacrament of baptism, disputed the validity of the baptism of heretics through Clement of Alexandria⁵ and more so through

3. Migne P. L. 1, 1324

4. Πηδάλιον τῆς μᾶς ἀγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησίας, . . . ὑπὸ Ἀγαπίου καὶ Νικαδῆμου, ἔκδ. 2, Ἀθήναι 1841, σ. 30

5. Στραμ. I, 19. Migne P. G. 3, 813. Πρὸς τὸν Μ. Ἀθανασίου, Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Σεραπίωνα Θμούεως. Migne P. G. 26, 597.

Tertullian,* and instituted at the time special Canons requiring heretics with non-canonical baptism to be rebaptized. Such rebaptizing was considered as the first baptism, and clergymen who accepted as valid the baptism, Eucharist, or other sacraments of the heretics were severely punished. All the sacraments of the heretics were considered by the Church void and annulled. Thus, the 46th Canon of the Apostolic Constitutions, one of many enactments of the Church regarding heretics, imposes the penalty of deposition to bishops or priests who accept the baptism, or Eucharist of heretics. The Church also forbade the rebaptizing of those who had been validly baptized, and enacted by the 47th Apostolic Canon that a bishop or priest rebaptizing anyone properly baptized be deposed for not distinguishing between a true and false priest.

Accordingly, the baptism administered to a member of a heretical group was considered as never to have taken place and completely non-existent for one seeking admission to the Church, and his rebaptism was considered as the first and only valid baptism. "It is only the heretics that are baptized, because the baptism they had is not a baptism", says Cyril of Jerusalem.⁷ A baptism canonically performed within the Church, on the other hand, could not be repeated, for according to Ephesians 4,5, "one Lord, one faith, one baptism".⁸ Rebaptizing was rightly considered as invalidating one of the most important articles of the Nicene Creed, «ὁμολογῶ ἐν βάπτισμα».

This, then, was the earliest opinion of the ancient Church, supported by the Churches of Asia Minor under bishop Firmilian of Caesarea (Cappadocia) and the African Church under bishops Agrippinus and Cyprian of Carthage, the latter of whom introduced the principle "of baptizing heretics of whatever origin". The decisions of Large Synods, like the one convened at Iconium between the years 230 and 235 under Firmilian, and in Africa about the year 220 under Agrippinus, proclaimed as void the baptism of Montanists. Later, during the years 255 and 256 three additional Synods under Cyprian likewise declared void the baptism of Novationists.⁹ Perhaps of like opinion was the Church of Alexandria, if Clement of Alexandria is to be taken as ex-

6. De Baptismo. Migne P. L. 1, 1305 ἐξ.

7. Προκατήχ. 6. Migne P. G. 33, 345.

8. Έφεσ. 4,5. Τὸ Πηδάλιον ὁρθῶς παρατηρεῖ ἐπὶ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου καὶ τῆς εἰρημένης ἀποφάσεως τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν Κυρκιανὸν Συνόδου: «Εἰ γάρ, φησί, μία εἶναι ἡ Καθολικὴ Ἑκκλησία καὶ ἐν εἶναι τὸ ἀληθὲς βάπτισμα, πῶς ἔμπορεῖ νὰ εἶναι ἀληθὲς βάπτισμα τὸ τῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ σχισματικῶν, εἰς καιρὸν οὗτοῦ αὐτοὶ δὲν εἶναι μέσα εἰς τὴν Καθολικὴν Ἑκκλησίαν, ἀλλ' ἐξεκόπησαν ἀπὸ αὐτὴν διὰ τῆς αἰρέσεως; Εἰ δὲ ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ βάπτισμα τῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ σχισματικῶν, ἀληθὲς δὲ εἶναι καὶ τὸ τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου καὶ Καθολικῆς Ἑκκλησίας, λοιπὸν δὲν εἶναι ἐν βάπτισμα, καθὼς ὁ Παῦλος βοᾷ, ἀλλὰ δύο ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀποσώτατον» (σελ. 30).

9. Τῆς τελευταίας Συνόδου τὰ πρακτικὰ παρὰ Γ. Ράλλη καὶ Μ. Ποτλῆ, Σύνοταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν Κανόνων, Ἀθήναι 1853, τ. ΙΙΙ, σ. 1 ἐξ., Ἰω. Καρμίρη, μν. ξ. Ι,213]5, σημ. 8.

pressing the viewpoint of his Church when writing in "Stromata", "the baptism of heretics is not known as genuine sacramental water".¹⁰ Besides, one is able to conclude from evidence found in the writings of Sts. Athanasius, Basil, Cyril of Jerusalem, and the two Gregories,¹¹ that the whole Eastern Church in general did not recognize the baptism of heretics, for, according to St. Basil, "that was decreed by the Church from the beginning".¹²

As against the attitude taken by the Eastern Church, the Church of Rome formed a different opinion by which "heretics of whatever origin are not to be rebaptized"; hence, heretics coming back to the Church were received by the laying on of hands by the bishop together with a prayer.¹³ It seems that both practices, the one prevailing in the East and the other in the West, were founded on ancient custom within each Church respectively. It was unfortunate that this division of opinion among the two Churches was accentuated by the Novatian schism, because, whereas Cyprian of Carthage used to rebaptize the heretics, Stephan I, bishop of Rome, received them without rebaptism. The bishop of Rome by maintaining this practice accentuated an already existing division to the point of severance of relationships between the Church of Rome and the Churches of North Africa and perhaps Asia Minor.¹⁴

We do not deem it necessary to dwell at this time upon this controversy, for otherwise we would transcend the scope of this paper; we must, however, note in passing that this division of opinion was settled by the decisions of the 1st, 2nd and Quinisext General Councils, namely, Canons 8 and 19 of the 1st, 7 of the 2nd, and 95 of the Quinisext General Councils. According to the decisions of these Councils, and the decisions of other Local Synods, heretics coming back to the Church were neither all to be rebaptized nor all to be accepted without rebaptism. In this way the opinions of both parties, namely, of Firmilian and Cyprian on the one hand, and Stephan I of Rome on the other, were neither completely vindicated nor completely rejected. The Church decided to follow the middle of the road of discriminating in case of heretics according to the merits of each individual case. Some of the heretics were consequently received into the Church by rebaptism while others were re-

10. Στρωμ. I, 19. Migne P. G. 8,813.

11. Πρὸς Δ. Γεωργιάδου, Τὸ βάπτισμα τῶν αἰρετικῶν, ἐν «Νέα Σιών» 19 (1924) 97 ἑξ.

12. Κανὼν I, παρὰ Ἰω. Καρμύρη, μν. ξ I, 223. Καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ζωναράν, πᾶντας αἰρετικούς βαπτίζεσθαι οἱ ἱεροὶ Πατέρες ἐθέσαν· ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἔτυχον τοῦ θελοῦ βαπτίσματος, ἢ τυχόντες οὐκ ὀρθῶς, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον διὸ καὶ ὡς μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν βαπτισθέντας αὐτοὺς λογίζονται. (Παρὰ Γ. Ράλλη καὶ Μ. Ποτλῆ, μν. ξ. II, 189).

13. Πρὸς καὶ Εὐσεβίου, Ἐκκλησ. Ἱστορ. 7,7. Migne P. G. 20,649.

14. Αὐτόθι 7,5. Migne P. G. 20,645. Πρὸς καὶ Β. Στεφανίδου, Ἐκκλησ. Ἱστορία, Ἀθήναι 1948, σ. 79.

ceived without baptism. In practice, the decision of the Church in each case depended upon dogmatical teachings and upon the canonicity of the baptism, i.e. whether such a baptism had been performed in the name of the Holy Trinity and by a canonical priest properly invested with the Apostolicity of the Christian priesthood. Factors relating to local conditions and needs, plus the relationship of the heretical or schismatic group with the Church were seriously considered in applying the principle of "economy".

The 1st General Council, for example, imposed rebaptism in the case of the anti-trinitarian followers of Paul of Samosata by its 19th Canon, thus rejecting their baptism on the ground that they held non-Orthodox beliefs on the doctrine of the Trinity and did not use the Trinitarian formula in baptism. The same Council, however, recognized the baptism of schismatic Novationists by its 8th Canon. The example of the 1st General Council was followed by three Local Synods, a. that of Laodicea, circa 360, which invalidated by its 8th Canon the baptism of heretical Montanists, on the ground that they baptized in a non-Orthodox way, thereby violating fundamental Christian doctrines. The same Synod recognized the baptism of Novationists, who were specifically named heretics, and even the baptism of the truly heretics Photinians, whom the Synod accepted as baptizing in an Orthodox manner; b. that of Alexandria in 362, which received without rebaptism the heretical Arians, on the ground that they were performing their baptisms in the name of the Holy Trinity;¹⁵ c. that of Carthage in 348, which likewise accepted the Donatists as having been baptized in an Orthodox manner.¹⁶

St. Basil the Great, following on the decision of the 1st General Council, indicates which heretics could be accepted with or without baptism, thereby prescribing both "economy" for certain heretics and rebaptism for those performing baptism without the invocation of the Holy Trinity.¹⁷ St. Basil introduces the following conditions: as for baptism, he says that "it has been said of old that that baptism is acceptable which does not transgress the faith in any way". In distinguishing between heresy, schism and illicit assembly, he writes, "our forefathers have named as heretics people that have been completely cut off from the body of the Church, and from faith completely estranged . . . for their differences with us have to do directly with the very faith in God . . . they have named as schismatics those people who for reparable ecclesiastical reasons have quarreled with them . . . like holding a different opinion about penance from that of

15. 'Ρουφίνου, Hist. eccl. I, 1, XXIX. Migne P. L. 21,498. M. 'Αθανασίου, 'Επιστολή πρὸς 'Ρουφινιανόν. Migne P. G. 26,1180 ἐξ. 'Ιω. Καρμύρη, μν. ξ I, 231/2.

16. Προβλ. καὶ καν. 57 (66) καὶ 68 (77) τῆς ἐν Καρθαγένῃ τοῦ 419. 'Ιω. Καρμύρη, μν. ξ. I, 217.

17. Βλέπ. κανόνας αὐτοῦ 1,5 καὶ 47, παρὰ 'Ιω. Καρμύρη μν. ξ. I, 232 ἐξ.

those representing the Church . . . as illicit they have named those gatherings held by disobedient presbyters, or bishops, and by people lacking in education; when, for example, one had been investigated and expelled from common worship on account of a transgression but disobeyed the Canons and tried to usurp the right to hold and preside over common worship, and others followed him, and all left the Catholic Church, that constitutes an illicit assembly". Further down, in qualifying their baptism he says, "our forefathers had decided that the baptism of heretics ought to be completely annulled; that of the schismatics to be accepted on the ground that they were still part of the Church; they also decreed that members of an illicit assembly ought to be readmitted to the Church after having improved themselves through sincere and adequate penance; those of them who had a rank in the Church and followed the disobedient ones, thus ousting themselves from the Church, to be in many cases readmitted with the rank they had before they left the Church".

It can be concluded, accordingly, that "economy" was at first applied to schismatics, later made to include certain heretics as well. On the ground of his quotation "from those of old", St. Basil accepts the baptism of the Novationists according to the decision of the 1st General Council, but he rejects the baptism of the Pepuzians, for "they are apparently heretics", not baptizing in the name of the Trinity but in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of Montanus or Prisca", thus blaspheming against the Holy Ghost. He also accepts «οικονομίας ἔνεκα» the baptism of Encratites and that of the Hydroparastatae, so that "we shall not hinder their salvation on account of our severe rules".

Since the time of the 2nd General Council, however, the conception of "economy" widens to the extent of including Arians and Macedonians, and later Nestorians and Eutychians, all of whom were accepted without rebaptism, apparently for the sake of unity and peace in the Church. Although unity and peace through the readmission of heretics and schismatics was an end that the Church pursued, it was really the Emperors, Constantine the Great being the first, who pressed upon the Church the necessity for such a practice. We have, thus, a new policy and practice on this matter which was concretely expressed by the 7th Canon of the 2nd General Council which was later incorporated and further clarified by the 95th Canon of the Quinisext General Council.

Heretics were divided into three categories: heretics of the first category were accepted by rebaptism; those of the second by anointment with Holy Oil (Sacrament of Chrism); and those of the third by a personal Affirmation of faith.¹⁸ This division

18. Περὶ διαφορᾶς τῶν προσερχομένων τῇ παναγεστάτῃ ἡμῶν πίστει. (Ἀπὸ πανδέκτῃν τοῦ Νίκωνος). Migne P. G. 86A, 69. Λεπτομερέστερον αὐτόθι σ. 12-68 περὶ τῶν προσερχομένων τῇ ἁγίᾳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.

was introduced later into the Service Book, and is also repeated by presbyter Timothy, who later wrote: "there are three classes of those seeking readmission into the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church of God; the first is that of those who need to be rebaptized; the second, those who need not be rebaptized but anointed with Holy Oil; and the third, those who need neither to be baptized nor anointed, but who need to denounce with anathema theirs and any other heresy". Theodore of Studium,¹⁹ among others, later also mentions this triple classification.

It is evident from the above two Canons of the 2nd and Quinisext General Councils and from other evidence that has survived to this day, that the ancient Church had set the principle by which a. heretics seeking readmission to the Church, but not accepting the Trinitarian doctrine as decreed by the first two General Councils, had to be rebaptized. Such heretics included the followers of Paul of Samosata, for the reason that they did not baptize in the name of the Holy Trinity; the Sabellians, as «*υἱοπατορίαν διδάσκοντες καὶ ἑτέρα τινα χαλεπὰ ποιοῦντες*»; and all other heresies, especially those teaching dualism, as Gnostics, Manichaeans, Marcionites, Valentinians, Photinians, Ebionites and others; those who rejected the Sacrament of baptism, or performed it in a non-canonical manner, like the Eunomians who baptized with one immersion, invoking «*Θεοῦ ἀκτίστου καὶ Υἱοῦ κεκτισμένου καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγιαστικοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κεκτισμένου Τίτου κτισθέντος*»,²⁰ and heretics in general who rejected the Trinitarian formula in prayer, afterwards the Montanists who baptized in a non-Orthodox manner, thus "obviously being heretics", the Pepuzians as baptizing in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of Montanus or of Prisca, and others.²¹ b. heretics who accepted the Trinitarian doctrine but differed with the Church on points of ecclesiastical order, as the Novationists, Sabbatians and others, had to be readmitted by anointment with Holy Oil only. It is rather strange that the General Councils included in this category, as we have seen, groups that were unequivocally heretic like the Arians, Macedonians, Apollinarists, Nestorians, Eutychians and other Monophysites; it is to be noted that these heretics per-

19. Ἐπιστολὴ μ' Νανκρατίω. Migne P. G. 99, 1052/3.

20. Πρὸβλ. καὶ Ἐπιφανίου, Αἴρ. 76,6. Migne P. G. 42,525. Σωζομένον, Ἐκκλ. Ἱστορ. 6,26. Migne P. G. 67,1361 ἔξ.

21. Λεπτομερέστερον, κατὰ τὸν πρεσβύτερον Τιμόθεον, «οἱ μὲν βαπτιζόμενοι εἰσὶν οἷδε· Τασκοδρούγοι· Μαρκιανισταί, ἤγουν Ἀρτοτυοῖται· Σακκοφόροι, οἱ καὶ Ἀποτακτίται· Βαλεντινοί, οἱ καὶ Βασιλεῖδαι καὶ Ἑρμαῖοι καλούμενοι· Νικολαῖται· Μοντανισταί, οἱ καὶ Πεπουζήνοι· Μανιχαῖοι· Εὐνομανοί, ἥτ' Ἀνόμοιοι· Παυλιανισταί, οἱ ἀπὸ Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως· Φωτειανισταί, οἱ ἀπὸ Φωτεινοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ Συρμίου. Σαβελλιανοί, ἀπὸ Σίμωνος τοῦ Μάγου· Μενανδριανοί· Ἐβριανοί· Κηρινθιανοί, οἱ ἀπὸ Κηρίνθου· Καρποκρατιανοί, οἱ ἀπὸ Καρποκράτους· Σατορνιανοί· καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μάρκου τοῦ ἀνοσίτου καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀπελλῆ· οἱ ἀπὸ Θεοδότου τοῦ σκυτέως· Ἐλκεσαῖται· οἱ ἀπὸ Νέποτος· οἱ ἀπὸ Πελαγίου καὶ Κελεστίνου· Μελχισεδεκίται. (Μν. ἔ. Migne P. G. 86^a, 69. Περὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων αἱρέσεων ὁμιλεῖ ὁ Τιμόθεος αὐτόθι σ. 13 ἔξ). Καὶ κατὰ τὸν Θεόδωρον Στουδίτην, «βαπτίζονται μὲν Μοριωνισταί, Τρσκαρδιουργοί, Μανιχαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύστοιχοι αὐτῶν ὁμοῦ ἕως τῶν Μελχισεδεκιτῶν, αἱρέσεις εἴκοσι πέντε». (Ἐνθ' ἂν σ. 1052).

formed the baptism correctly by making three immersions and invoking the name of the Holy Trinity. c. schismatics seeking re-admission to the Church were to be accepted by personal Affirmation of faith. This category included those who differed with the Church on matters of secondary ecclesiastical importance, like the Meletians, Massilians, and others up to the Iconoclasts. Here again, for reasons of "economy" and on the ground of ecclesiastical polity,²² heretics like the Nestorians, Severians and others of like heresies are included, as is evident from the 95th Canon of the Quinisext Council, from presbyter Timothy and from an ancient Patriarchal Service Book.²³ This practice continued up to about the middle of the 11th century, whence the Nestorians and Monophysites were reclassified as of the second category, only to be later placed again in the first category, according to the decision of the Synod of Constantinople in 1756.

Thus, briefly speaking, have the General Councils defined the manner in which heretics and schismatics were to be readmitted into the ancient and undivided Church up to the time of the Schism of the 9th century. During that period between the Quinisext General Council and the Schism, no change in attitude was effected, as no important heresies appeared to raise the question of the validity of their baptism, except for the Iconoclast movement which was soon subdued.

Our historical survey has shown the important differences in opinion and practice relating to our subject, differences in opinion and undulations in practice that continue unabated and, in many instances, accentuated since the Quinisext Council to the present time. All during this period there have been many instances when the use of strict rule or the principle of "economy"

22. Τὸ Πηδάλιον, ἐξηγοῦν ταύτην, παρατηρεῖ ἐν σ. 30. «Αἱ δύο Οἰκουμενικαὶ Σύνοδοι (Β' καὶ Πενθέκτη) ἐμεταχειρίσθησαν τὴν οἰκονομίαν, καὶ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν καὶ Μακεδονιανῶν τὸ βάπτισμα ἐδέχθησαν καὶ ἄλλων . . . Διότι, εἰς τοὺς καιροὺς μάλιστα τῆς Β' Συνόδου, ἤρμαζον οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ καὶ Μακεδονιανοί, καὶ ὄχι μόνον ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος πολλοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγάλας εἶχον δυνάμεις καὶ κοντὰ εἰς τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ κοντὰ εἰς τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ τὴν συγκλήτον. Ὅθεν, ἕνα μὲν διὰ νὰ τοὺς ἐλύσουν εἰς τὴν Ὁρθοδοξίαν καὶ νὰ τοὺς διορθώσωσιν εὐκολώτερα, ἄλλο δὲ διὰ νὰ μὴ τύχη καὶ τοὺς ἐξαγριώσωσιν περισσότερον κατὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν καὶ γένηι χειρότερον τὸ κακόν, οἰκονόμησαν οὕτω τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἱ οἰκονομοῦντες τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἐν κρίσει (Ψαλμ. ρα' 5) οἱ θεοὶ ἐκείνοι Πατέρες, καὶ ἐσυγκατέβησαν νὰ δεχθῶν τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτῶν . . . ».

23. Ἰω. Καρμίρη, μν. ἔ. σ. 199, 976/7, 1009. Καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Τιμόθεος λεπτομερέστερον γράφει: «Οἱ δὲ μῆτε χριόμενοι, μῆτε βαπτιζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀναθεματίζοντες τὴν ἰδίαν αἵρεσιν, εἰσὶν οὗτοι. Μελετιανοὶ οἱ σχισματικοί· οὗτοι κακόδοξοι μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ ἀναθεματίζουσι τὸ ἴδιον σχίσμα· Νεστοριανοί· Εὐτυχιανισταὶ καὶ ὁ τούτων κοινωνὸς Διώσκορος, Σευήρος, Ἰάκωβος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἀκέφαλοι· Μαρκιανισταὶ, οἱ ἀπὸ Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ Τραπεζίτου, καὶ Μεσσαλιανοί, καὶ Εὐτυχίται, καὶ Ἐνθουσιασταί, καὶ Χορευταί, καὶ Λαμπετιανοί, καὶ Ἀδελφιανοί, καὶ Εὐσταθιανοί». (Migne P. G. 86a, 72). Καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος Στουδίτης γράφει: «Οἱ δὲ μῆτε βαπτιζόμενοι, μῆτε χριόμενοι, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀναθεματίζοντες τὴν ἰδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἄλλην αἵρεσιν Μελετιανοί, Νεστοριανοί, Εὐτυχιανισταὶ καὶ οἱ τούτων ὁμοστοιχοὶ, μέχρι τῆς δευρο αἰρέσεως (τῆς Ἐκκονομαχίας), τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὐχ ὑποβαλλόμενοι μοι κατὰ τὸ παρόν διὰ τὸ πολυχιδὲς τῶν Ἀκεφάλων καὶ τὸ ὑπερτενὲς τῆς ἐπιστολῆς» (αὐτόθι).

varies in application. It is to be noted, however, that doubts and inconsistencies in regard to the application of the principle of "economy" do not refer to the dogmatical elements of the Sacrament of baptism, for, according to a fundamental Orthodox rule there can be no "economy" in the acceptance of divine dogmas.²⁴ The use of "economy" refers only to the manner in which heretics ought to be readmitted into the Church; "economy" is certainly limited and deals exclusively with the visible formality of the sacrament which is not repeated, while the content of the baptism is granted by the Orthodox Church which alone possesses and dispenses Divine Grace which makes people just and saves. The Orthodox Church considers the baptism and all other sacraments of heretics as empty formalities, even those of heretics whom she readmits without baptism, confessing that there is "only one baptism in remission of sins", and that, performed only by the Orthodox Church.

(To be continued)

24. Πρβλ. αὐτόθι, σ. 808: «Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς θείοις δόγμασιν οὐδαμοῦ χώραν ἔχει ποτὲ ἡ οἰκονομία ἢ συγκατάβασις· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀσάλευτα εἰσι, καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ὁρθοδόξων ὡς ἀπαράβαρα ἐν πάσῃ εὐλαβείᾳ διαφυλάττονται· καὶ ὁ μικρόν τι τούτων παραβαίνων, ὡς σχισματικὸς καὶ αἰρετικὸς κατακρίνεται καὶ ἀναθεματίζεται, καὶ ἀκαινώνητος παρὰ πᾶσι λογίζεται» (Ἀπόκρισις Ὁρθοδόξων Πατριαρχῶν πρὸς Ἀγγλικανούς Ἀνωμότους). Βλέπ. αὐτ. καὶ σ. 975.

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